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# China Report

RED FLAG

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12 April 1984

## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 4, 16 February 1984

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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## ON CADRE POLICY (SEPTEMBER 1938)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 84 pp 2-9, 38

[Article by Chen Yun]

[Text] Cadre policy means, in common speech, the way to use people. Why should we talk about this subject? It is because when our fellow students go to work in the rear areas occupied by the enemy, they are not merely members of the guerrillas, they are also cadres and leaders. The way to use people is very important in leadership work. There is a saying: "Cadres decide everything."<sup>1</sup> It is in common use in the whole world. It can be used in both foreign countries and China. It can be used by communist parties and by other political parties.

It is a pity that in the struggle of the past 10 years carried out by the CPC, we lost tens of thousands of cadres. If we had failed to establish a base area in the northern parts of Shanxi,<sup>2</sup> we could not even have retained such a small number of cadres. There are more than 1,800 counties throughout China. If each and every county can retain three party members, our party will have greater force to carry out its work.

Now, I would like to talk about cadre policy. I would like to use 12 characters and to explain it under 4 topics: 1) understanding people; 2) being big-minded; 3) using people well; 4) taking good care of people.

First of all, let me talk about the first topic: understanding people.

We should understand people. It is not easy to thoroughly understand people. Strictly speaking, it is very difficult to do so. As far as our CPC is concerned, does every party member understand people well? I believe that we have not yet done enough in this respect. We have recently discovered two defects: 1) We use one eye to judge people. We pay attention only to a single incident in their life, rather than to their life and work as a whole. We cannot judge people in an all-round way. 2) We only know what this person has done today, but know nothing about what he did in the past. We only know whether such a person is capable or not, but neglect his moral character.

Some of our comrades only pay attention to people's weak points, but neglect their strong points. Some other comrades only pay attention to

people's strong points, but neglect their weak points. Of these two ways of judging people, which one is predominant? Generally speaking, more comrades pay attention to people's weak points, but neglect their strong points. What is the proof to support this argument? For instance, while assigning cadres to work, if someone speaks of something unpleasant to our ears, we might say that this fellow is arrogant, and that the other fellow is weak and incapable. We might also say that some other fellow has a complicated background and so forth.

Arrogance is, of course, no good. It is a bad thing. However, to judge people in such a way is, very often, lopsided. We should further understand that each and every weak point might also contain a good point. Although a person might be arrogant, he does things with great confidence. Such a person is, more or less, capable. He is arrogant because he is capable. With regard to such a person, we must make use of his strong point and avoid his weak point. If we show him the direction and tell him the right way to do things, and give the fullest play to his role, he can attain success. If we assign not very important work to him, and let him do it boldly and with confidence and give play to his strong points, he can gradually overcome his weak point in the process of his work, because he can accumulate more and more experience. The accumulation of experience cannot be separated from the overcoming of weak points.

To be weak and incapable is, of course, no good. However, a good point might be contained in this weak point: a good point such as that he is cautious and prudent. Since he is not capable enough, he is particularly cautious and prudent. Such a person is not suitable for doing work in a bold and resolute way. However, he can do the work which should be done in a careful and cautious way. For example, he is suitable for doing some confidential work, carrying out investigation, compiling statistics, and so forth. We should not encourage a person to be weak and incapable. But a person with such a disposition has his own strong point. We should make use of his good point, that is, the good point of being careful and cautious.

Let us discuss the problem of complicated background. When we are recruiting new party members, we regard those who have the gift of gab, grow beards, and know about the situation of various parties and factions as having complicated backgrounds. We do not dare admit them into the party. However, such persons are, very often, more experienced in society because they know about many things. If they truly believe in communism, and are willing to join the proletarian ranks to make revolution and to advance with us, should all these be objected to? As far as I am concerned, I have a very complicated background. I first believed in Wu Peifu,<sup>3</sup> and later I believed in nationalism.<sup>4</sup> Not long after that, I believed in the three people's principles.<sup>5</sup> At last, I believe in communism. Through comparison, I realize that communism is the best system. We say that such a person is complicated. However, he truly understands communism through his own experiences. Hence he is also pure in essence. Youths are pure. But those who are pure include not only youths, but also old people.

Just as I mentioned above, a person's strong point might contain certain weak points as well. Weak points might also contain certain good points. When using a person, we must make use of his good points so that he can give play to his strong points and overcome his weak points. Under heaven there is nobody who has no strong points or merits whatsoever. There is nobody who has no weak points or defects at all. Therefore, we say that there is nobody in the revolutionary ranks that cannot be used.

Our second defect is that when we try to understand a person, we only know what he has done today, but do not know what he did yesterday, or we only assess what he did in the past, but not the things he is doing now. We only pay attention to his contributions, but neglect his mistakes, or vice versa. We only pay attention to the fact that he is good today, but was bad yesterday, or vice versa. In so doing, we very often cannot make a fundamental assessment of cadres. Where does such a defect manifest itself? It has manifested itself in the fact that we promote and demote cadres without careful consideration. Such a thing also occurs in our Communist Party. When a cadre performs well today, we promote him excessively. When the same cadre does not perform as well tomorrow, we demote him immediately. We know how villagers carry out pile-driving when they are building their houses. They move the timbers up and down. When we are using cadres, we should avoid doing things in the manner of pile-driving. When a cadre performs well today, we promote him to a very high position. When he does not perform as well tomorrow, we demote him immediately. We promote him again the day after tomorrow, but demote him again later. It is not right to deal with people in the manner of pile-driving. When building a house, it is good to carry out pile-driving as much as possible. If we deal with a cadre in such a way, I believe that at most after a third pile-driving, we will completely ruin him, because he will have lost all his confidence and will not dare to work any longer. When we were working in the soviet area<sup>6</sup> in Jiangxi, there Comrade Mao Zetan<sup>7</sup> was working with us. He was a younger brother of Chairman Mao. He once committed a mistake; some people could not tolerate him and thought that he could not be used any longer. Later, the Red Army needed people to work because of expansion and he was sent to a certain district. He not only accomplished the tasks, but also performed his duty outstandingly and achieved great success. When he returned, many thought highly of him. He was transferred to a guerrilla area on the borders of Fujian and Jiangxi. Several months later, some people thought that he expressed remarks which seemed to be in line with right opportunism. Just at that time, a task in expanding the Red Army was assigned to him. Since he could not achieve good results, some people again thought that he could not be used. Nobody wanted such a person and he was rejected everywhere. No place wanted such a comrade and he could not even make a living. Later, when the Red Army retreated from Jiangxi, he laid down his life bravely in the battle and shed the last drop of his blood for the revolution. Therefore, when judging a person, we must not confine our judgment to a short period or a single incident in his life. If we fail to make a basic assessment of a person, we will commit very great mistakes in using people.

This is the topic of understanding people which I wish to talk about today.

Now, let us come to the second topic: being big-minded.

We should be big-minded in using people. Why should we talk about this topic? Times have now changed. Is there any difference between the year 1938 and the year 1928? What is the difference between the situation before and after the Lugouqiao incident?<sup>8</sup> I might say that many people are turning toward the CPC today. Heroes and people of exceptional ability from throughout the country are gathering in Yanan. I still remember that we ran a school in Shanghai in 1932 in order to train worker cadres. The class was conducted for 6 days and there were only six students. Today, there are several thousand students studying in the Anti-Japanese College.<sup>9</sup> There are more than 10,000 students in Yanan alone if the students of Shaanbei Public School,<sup>10</sup> Lu Xun Art Academy,<sup>11</sup> and the party school<sup>12</sup> are included. If we compare 10,000 with 6, how great is the difference? Therefore, I say that over the past 10 years, popular feeling has greatly changed. People, regardless of sex and age, fear no hardship and make light of traveling a thousand li to come to Yanan. The Anti-Japanese College published a notice in Wuhan newspapers that no students would be recruited. However, it was useless to do so, because a continuous stream of students still came. When vehicles were not available, they walked to Yanan. Men and women came to Yanan after traveling several thousand li. Most of them are revolutionary youths. They also include university professors and engineers. A 75-year-old man has also come. Various kinds of people are living in the Xibei Hotel, including people from various parties and factions and reporters. Youths have also organized visiting groups. It is not true that all these people cannot make a living in other places and that they have only come to Yanan for millet. In judging the present situation, it is truly complicated. However, what do we like--being complicated or simple? In the past when we ran a school, there were only six students. It was simple, indeed. Today, there are various kinds of people and the situation is complicated indeed. When we intend to achieve something magnificent, we will encounter a complicated situation. When we lead the whole nation in the future, the situation will be even more complicated. It is very simple when there are only a few people and when we do not intend to promote our cause. However, the revolution will not succeed this way. The Communist Party is a vanguard which is leading the broad masses of the reserves and must identify itself with the broad masses of people. In such a way, it will inevitably encounter complicated situations. The revolution will not succeed if we rely only on comrades of the Anti-Japanese College and Shaanbei Public School, who are carrying out their hard struggle against the enemy. We should unite with more comrades and with the broad masses of people. If we fear complicated situations when making revolution, we will make things more complicated. If we do not fear complicated situations, it will be easier for us to carry out revolution.

Mr Sun Yat-sen was a great person. He led the revolution of 1911<sup>13</sup> and the Wuchang uprising. More than 10 provinces throughout the country responded to his call within several days. What were the factors contributing to Mr Sun Yat-sen's success? One of the reasons was that he was big-minded. He wanted all people, including members of the Hongqiang Society,<sup>14</sup> the

Gelao Society,<sup>15</sup> and the three regions and the nine schools of thought,<sup>16</sup> regardless of factions and parties and class origin. Therefore, he was able to accomplish something magnificent. We should be good at using people. As long as a person has a single skill, we should use him. Only thus can we accomplish our great cause. Can we say that Communist Party members alone are persons of exceptional ability? This is not the case. There are a lot of talented persons in society and many of them are not Communist Party members. Therefore, we should be big-minded and good at using various kinds of talented personnel. Our revolution will not succeed if we do things all by ourselves.

After graduation, you comrades will go to the areas occupied by the enemy and work in areas behind enemy lines. In those areas, we should even be more big-minded in using people. In those areas, there are a lot of talented personnel who left big cities in order to hide in villages and mountains. If our comrades can do well in representing the interests of the nation and laboring people and in organizing guerrilla forces, those people who are taking refuge will surely come out and support you. Those scholars, artists, scientists, politicians, and economists, who pretend to be peasants, will reveal their true identities and join you. They are very useful, talented personnel. There were only a few party members and a cadre of the 8th Route Army in a certain locality in Shandong. When they called on people to resist Japan, several thousand people answered their call immediately. Now, there are more than 10,000 people who have joined them.

Now, I would like to talk about the third topic: using people well.

What methods should be adopted in order to use people well? I cannot give you any unusual suggestion. However, as long as people under your leadership are working happily and actively, they can certainly do their work well. This principle is suitable for all kinds of work. When you are assigned to do civilian work, military work, or party work in future, you should ensure that everyone working under you has a strong sense of responsibility and works hard and happily. In such a way, all the work can be carried out satisfactorily. If incidents such as being unable to work contentedly and asking for transfers occur among people working under you very often, these are the very things that you should fear most. If a comrade is assigned to suitable work and can give play to his role, he will never ask for a transfer. Once he asks for a transfer, that means he is not able to work contentedly. If such incidents occur frequently, the basic reason for this is that the leadership is poor. What methods should a leader adopt so that cadres under him can work happily and contentedly? The fundamental way is: The higher levels should trust the lower levels and the lower levels should in turn trust the higher levels. The higher levels and the lower levels should trust one another. As for a leader, he should ensure that his subordinates dare to speak and dare to act. A number of cadres at lower levels try not to say what is on their minds. Outwardly, they seem to be obedient enough. At a meeting, when the leader asks them: "Do you agree?" They say: "I do agree!" When the leader says: "Those who agree hold up their hands!" They will also hold up their hands.

However, the actual problem will not yet have been solved. Therefore, a leader should ensure that his subordinates dare to speak and dare to act. Do not blame them even if they make mistakes. If people at lower levels dare to speak and dare to act, they will certainly become active.

What are the defects of fearing to speak? For example, if a person holds different views, but does not dare to express them, he will not be able to effectively implement the resolutions, even if they have been adopted. Therefore, we would rather conduct a debate than seek unanimous approval in a mechanical way.

What methods should we adopt so that people dare to speak? The following points merit our attention:

1. Leaders should adopt a friendly attitude. In a leading organ, if people do not dare to speak in front of the leader, how can the organ do its work well? If people like to be friends with the leader and like to talk with him, this leader will certainly be able to unite with more people. If a leader puts on airs and his face is as fearsome as that of the king of hell, nobody will want to make friends with him. When people speak 10 sentences in front of him, they will later forget 8 sentences which they uttered. In fact, why should a leader pretend to be so fierce and stern? Comrades here might ask me: Whether or not a leader has done his work well should be judged politically. Why should we pay attention to cadres' faces? However, many people pay attention to this matter. Even Communist Party members have such a habit. Therefore, leaders should pay attention to this matter.

In the meantime, we should avoid conducting meetings in a rigid and inflexible way. When a meeting is being held, we should do our best to encourage participants to express their ideas freely and to take part in heated discussion. If we rigidly and mechanically order them to speak one after another, some people might not express their views because they do not dare to speak in a serious atmosphere.

In a word, if people at lower levels dare to speak and to express their ideas freely, this is a good phenomenon. This proves that leadership in this unit is good because people at lower levels know that they will not be blamed even if they express erroneous views.

2. We should refrain from pinning on too many political labels. For instance, if a person who utters erroneous remarks is severely criticized, or labeled as suspected of "leftist" phrasemongering or right opportunism; if we pin such unsuitable political labels on him at random, such a person will probably be "ruined" and will no longer be able to work after undergoing such an experience on three or four occasions.

Some people are particularly interested in acting on principle while dealing with all kinds of problems. For instance, when a certain comrade committed a minor mistake, he said that political vacillation was the root of his mistake. Can we say that a minor mistake is committed because of political vacillation? It is not correct to deal with all kinds of problems



from the higher plane of principle. Such a mechanical way of doing things is also dangerous. I would like to tell you some stories, because this is a fairly serious problem. In the past, there was a female comrade who concealed a pair of scissors under her pillow. Later, people discovered the scissors. They guessed: "This was probably because she did not want other people to use the scissors." Therefore, they jumped to the conclusion that she was an "individualist." Individualism and our communism are diametrically opposed to each other! Another comrade ate more dishes when taking his meals and always "charged forward" in eating dishes. Consequently, he was criticized as being selfish. If this comrade were a Communist Party member, we would have to consider his party membership because of the word "selfishness." There was another example. A student of Shaanbei Public School lost a knife. He was upset because the knife was a souvenir. Another comrade asked him why he was so upset. He said he had lost a knife. This comrade criticized him as "lacking the spirit of sacrifice," saying that a revolutionary should dare to sacrifice his life, why could he not sacrifice even a knife? What he said seemed quite reasonable. Actually, to criticize people this way because of such trivial matters grievously wrongs people. To cherish a souvenir is not an unreasonable thing. How can we jump to the conclusion that such a person lacks the spirit of sacrifice because of this. Therefore, this was also a big political label. The reason for pinning on big political labels is that very often we exaggerate mistakes and inappropriately criticize them from the high plane of principle. We should avoid looking at matters in a mechanical way. We should be able to determine whether what a person has done is a mistake or is a serious mistake. We should avoid pinning big political labels on people at random.

3. When we are criticizing other people's mistakes, we should point out the roots of the mistakes and the way to correct them. The purpose of carrying out criticism is not to give vent to our anger. Generally speaking, there are two attitudes which people adopt when carrying out criticism: the first attitude is to accuse people fiercely; the second is to talk to people with a kind and pleasant countenance and to tell them the cause of their mistakes and the way to correct them out of good will. Only the second attitude can make those who are criticized feel satisfied and truly help solve the problem.

When leaders at higher levels criticize their subordinates, their criticism must be reasonable and correct. They must avoid the pinning of big political labels. This is because when leaders at higher levels criticize their subordinates, the influence is not the same as that of mutual criticism among comrades at the same level. Why? Because people at the same level think that they have more or less the same positions and qualifications; they will not take their mutual criticism to heart, even if the criticism is overdone or is not completely correct. This is not the case with criticism from leaders at the higher level. This is because when a leader at the higher level talks to his subordinates, he always talks in a very serious way. Therefore, he should avoid criticizing people in a random way. If the criticism is overdone or incorrect, he needs to exert great efforts to free the minds of those who are criticized of the misunderstanding. In such

a way, other people will not show contempt for those who are criticized. Of course, people at the lower level should also believe that the criticism from cadres at the higher level has good intentions. They should not pay too much attention to and take to heart the manner and tone of those who criticize.

While carrying out criticism, we should know whether those who are criticized are old or new party members and whether they are old or new cadres. We should also know whether they have been members of the CPC or the revolution for a long time. With regard to an old party member, we can criticize him without paying too much attention to manner and means. However, this is not the case with new party members. Due to the fact that they have just joined the party, their mentality is still different from that of old party members. Therefore, when criticizing them, we should adopt a gentle manner. We should try to persuade and talk them into coming around.

In a word, we should encourage people to speak up. To do so, we should avoid pinning big political labels randomly. We should not deal with every minor mistake from the higher plane of principle. We should sincerely criticize people out of good will and in a friendly way. In the meantime, we should point out the cause of the mistakes and the way to correct them.

Using people well means that we should encourage people so that they dare to do their work. If you have a habit of asking your subordinates to consult you and ask for your approval whenever they encounter even a minor problem or trivial matter, and if you feel pleased and comfortable and think that you are treated like a leader when your subordinates do so, your habit will severely hamper work. How much strength and time can a person have? Even if you think that you are extraordinarily capable and that you are the "number one man under heaven," you need the help of the number two and three men. Only thus can you succeed. Without them, you will not become the number one man either. When a leader has such a defect, the sense of responsibility of other cadres will be weakened. This will also dampen the confidence and enthusiasm of cadres at lower levels in their work. For instance, when a person has done a correct thing, he might say that this was work assigned by the higher level. When he has done a wrong thing, he might also say that the higher level asked him to do so. In so doing, he might shift responsibility onto others. Whether the work is carried out well or not is not directly connected with him. When cadres at the lower level lack a sense of responsibility, they will not do their work well. This will also dampen their initiative and creativity and hamper the development of their ability.

Some comrades might say: Your leadership method of giving play to the initiative of cadres at the lower level is not so good, because it will give rise to many mistakes. I believe that although mistakes cannot be avoided, we should not worry about this too much. In a certain sense, a person cannot make progress if he has never made any mistakes. When he makes a mistake, he can draw a lesson from it. Only by constantly drawing lessons can he constantly improve himself. We frequently learn things from mistakes. Are all things invented by scientists not derived from experiments



and mistakes? Today, a streamlined car looks beautiful and light. However, when we look at a car, housed in a museum, which was manufactured in an early period following the invention of the car, we find that it is heavy and clumsy. Numerous experiments and failures had to come to pass in order to turn the previously bad things into the present good things and to attain the present-day successes. It does not matter much when a comrade commits a minor mistake. After committing mistakes, as long as he can conscientiously learn from them, he will get more experiences and enhance his ability. Therefore, we should not be afraid of the possibility that cadres at the lower level might commit mistakes. We should encourage them to give play to their ability.

In a word, it is very important to encourage cadres to speak up and act boldly. Only thus can we arouse the enthusiasm of cadres so that they will keep their minds on their work. If a cadre obeys everything you say, he is merely a receiving instrument. It is impossible to give play to his ability. In a unit, if cadres never ask for transfers and if they can give play to their initiative and creativity, the leadership in the unit is good. If cadres in a unit cannot keep their minds on their work and ask for transfers, there must be something wrong with the leadership of the unit. When you do leadership work in the future, you should ensure that people at the lower level dare to speak up and act. In so doing, you will attain a good result in work.

Finally, let us come to the fourth topic: taking good care of people.

Here, there are several problems which merit our attention.

1. As I mentioned above, we should avoid promoting cadres today but demoting them tomorrow, just like pile-driving. If we want to promote a certain cadre, we should, first of all, make an all-round assessment of his political integrity and his ability. We should carefully consider whether he is suitable for the position. After he has been promoted, we should pay attention to his work. When we find out that he is no longer able to continue the work, we should think of a way to help him. We should not wait until he gets into trouble and consequently blame him and relieve him of his post because of his failure.

2. When cadres at the lower level cannot keep their minds on their work, we must find a way to solve this problem. When I was living on the mountain, sometimes I felt annoyed. When I had just begun to read documents, somebody might look for me. I might ask: Is that person coming again? However, when I thought this matter over, I realized that the reason why he came to me so often was because he had something important which should be settled. So, I made up my mind to meet him. While I was writing an article, an uninvited person might unexpectedly arrive. Under such circumstances, it was not appropriate for me to straighten my back and continue to work without paying any attention to him. It was appropriate for me to set aside my pen and listen to what he had to say. While he was speaking, it was appropriate for me to listen to him attentively and answer various questions patiently. Only thus could I satisfy his needs. It is worth

spending several hours if we can help a cadre solve his problems well. As cadres, we should spare no pains to deal with big and small matters. Since we have accepted a demand from a certain person, we should help him thoroughly solve his problems. Spending several hours on it should not be considered a waste of time.

3. When dealing with a cadre's problem which concerns his political life, we should handle it in a serious, cautious, and painstaking way. With regard to a comrade who has joined the revolutionary work, he does not pay too much attention to his physical life. On the contrary, he pays a lot of attention to his political life. He would rather sacrifice everything than be expelled from the party organization. If something has happened to his political life, he would think that he has no more prospects. We should not expel a party member from the party unless there is no other alternative.

Very often comrades who have been expelled from the party lodge their appeal to the Central Organizational Department or write letters of appeal. For example, a very young person was expelled from the party because a statement by certain accused people under investigation said that he was a Trotskyite.<sup>17</sup> Although this young person's party membership was later restored, his glorious history over the preceding 7 years was discredited. He was treated like a new party member. This person demanded clarification of his problem. There were witnesses to this event. However, one witness was in Xian, one in Yanan, one in the 129th Division, and one in a foreign country. Letters were written to them in order to investigate the matter. After a certain period of time, we recently received their replies. We realized that the previous judgment was wrong. We recognize his past glorious history. As a result, such a "dead person," who thought that "I would rather die on the front," has become a living person again. Was it worth spending 2 months carrying out the investigation? I believe that it was worth doing so, because it is impossible to train a cadre in a period of 2 months, but it is well worth spending 2 months on rescuing a cadre.

Let me give you another example. Some people reported to me that a certain man was a member of the Trotskyist special committee and that a certain woman was a Trotskyite. This man and woman came to me for help because they intended to study in the Party School and training class. I told them that some people had accused them of being Trotskyites. Hearing what I said, this man and woman burst into tears. I promised to help them solve this problem. When they came to see me, they were vivid and lively. When they left, their eyes were filled with tears. We spent 2 weeks on the investigation. The results of the investigation showed that they were not Trotskyites. Since we have solved this problem, do you not think that our efforts are worthwhile?

Some comrades are reluctant to provide correct evidence for other comrades for fear that they might get into trouble. Therefore, when we encounter such problems of personal political history, we should handle them in a prudent way. Otherwise, the problems of some people can never be solved and those comrades who are suspected will be wronged forever. This has actually harmed the party cause. Those who are engaged in leading party work and the army should pay close attention to this matter.

Comrades! Parents are very careful to take good care of their children. The CPC is also very careful to take good care of party members, just as parents would. When a person commits mistakes, we should help him correct them. When a person commits very serious mistakes, or even offenses, what should we do? Under such circumstances, we should consider whether he made contributions in the past. If he did make contributions, we should make a comparison between his contributions and errors. Actions can be taken only after making such a comparison. If a person made mistakes in the past and continues to do so now, he should, after making criticism and self-criticism, awake promptly and become resolute. As long as he repents, he can turn over a new leaf in his life and expiate his crime by good deeds in the future. Our Communist Party is fair and reasonable. As long as those who made mistakes can repent and truly correct their mistakes, the revolutionary ranks should allow them to continue to carry out the revolution. If a person has committed mistakes today, his previous achievements can be used to expiate his mistakes. If he commits mistakes now and made errors in the past, he is allowed to expiate his crimes by good deeds in the future. Our Communist Party will do its best to rescue those who committed mistakes, because this will be beneficial to the revolution.

4. We should avoid "flattering" cadres and praising them one-sidedly. If we praise the merits of cadres at the lower level and cover up their mistakes, they will become arrogant and work in an unrealistic way. In so doing, we will ruin our cadres rather than helping them.

There are some cadres who like to hear people's praise. When they are praised, they feel comfortable and happy. Otherwise, they become angry. Those who only praise people are toadies. It is not a good thing to fawn on people. Only those people who can carry out criticism unreservedly can be regarded as good people and revolutionary comrades. Very often, some cadres do not understand this. As the saying goes: "Good advice jars the ear and good medicine tastes bitter." All comrades should bear this in mind.

In a word, it is very important to take good care of people. When promoting a certain cadre, we should make an all-round assessment of his political integrity and ability. Since we have promoted him, we should do everything possible to help him so that he will not collapse. We should patiently solve the problems of those cadres who cannot keep their minds on their work. We should carefully and seriously solve problems that concern a cadre's political life. We should not "flatter" cadres. On the contrary, we should adopt a practical attitude toward them. Only thus can we truly take good care of people.

These are the things which I wanted to talk about. However, there are two points which I would like to point out: First, comrades should not think that revolutionary discipline is no longer necessary. It is wrong to disregard discipline. In order to ensure the accomplishment of the revolutionary tasks, iron discipline is needed in the revolutionary ranks. Without iron discipline, the CPC and the 8th Route Army will not survive and develop. Revolutionary discipline must be observed. I hope that our

comrades will not violate revolutionary discipline. My speech is not aimed at helping those people who violate discipline. Second, those comrades who were wronged or punished should not use my speech to launch a counterattack. Today, they are not allowed to take this opportunity to retaliate, because it is no good for them to do so. Things which happened in the past are over. Is there anybody who never does anything wrong? It is good as long as a person can correct his mistakes. Our comrades must be broadminded.

This is the end of my speech.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See Stalin's "A Speech Delivered at a Graduation Ceremony of the Students of the Red Army College Held at the Kremlin" ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, People's Publishing House, 1979, p 373).
2. Base areas in northern Shaanxi mentioned here refer to the revolutionary base areas in Shaanxi and Gansu, which were located in the northern parts of Shaanxi and northeastern parts of Gansu. During the period between 1932 and 1934, under the leadership of Liu Zhidan and Xie Zichang, the 26th Army and the 27th Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army were established, and base areas on the border of Shaanxi and Gansu and the northern parts of Shaanxi were set up. In July 1935, after smashing the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" of the four provinces of Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia, and Shanxi, the revolutionary base areas on the border of Shaanxi and Gansu and those in the northern parts of Shaanxi were linked together. In September of the same year, the 26th and 27th Armies of the Red Army broke out of the encirclement of Hubei, Henan, and Shaanxi and marched toward the northern parts of Shaanxi to join forces with the 25th Army. The 15th Army Group was thus set up. At that time, there were about 20 counties in the base areas with a population of more than 900,000. They became bases of the Central Red Army and the 2d and 4th Front Armies.
3. Wu Peifu (1874-1939) was from Penglai, Shandong Province. He was a leader of the Zhili group of the northern warlords. In 1918, he opposed Duan Qirui's policy of "armed reunification" and advocated peaceful negotiation between the north and the south. After the May 4th Movement, he pretended to be a "patriotic armyman" to oppose the government's signing of the Paris peace treaty and called on the government to abrogate the Sino-Japanese secret treaty. After the first war between the Zhili group and the Fengtian group in 1922, he supported Cao Kun in gaining control of the Beijing government. In 1923, he brutally suppressed the movement of the railway workers of the Beijing-Hankou line. In 1924, he was defeated in the second war between the Zhili group and Fengtian group. In 1926, he cooperated with Zhang Xuelin, a warlord of the Fengtian faction, to attack the national army of Fe Yuxiang. In the same year, he was defeated by the northern expeditionary army in Hubei and fled to Sichuan. In 1939, he died in Beijing.

4. Nationalism is a kind of bourgeois ideology which uses an abstract concept of nations to cover up the class nature of nations. Such ideology was prevalent in Europe during the 18th century. During the 1920's, political representatives of some big landlords and big bourgeoisie in China were also called followers of nationalism. Due to the fact that they flaunted the banner of patriotism, some young intellectuals were once deceived. The CPC and CYL used XIANGDAO and ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN as their main means to criticize the fallacy spread by nationalism and win over those genuine patriotic youths.
5. The three people's principles mean nationalism, democracy, and the people's livelihood advocated by Sun Yat-sen. With the change of times, there are differences between the old and new contents of the three people's principles. The old three people's principles were the revolutionary programs of the old democratic revolution in China. In January 1924, Sun Yat-sen accepted the proposal put forth by the communists and reexplained the three people's principles at the First National Congress of the Chinese KMT. He developed the old three people's principles into the new three people's principles, characterized by the three great policies of allying with Russia and the communists and assisting peasants and workers.
6. The central soviet area, the key soviet area, and the soviet area in Jiangxi mentioned in this article refer to base areas of the provisional central government of the Chinese Soviet Republic led by the CPC with Ruijin as a center. These areas were established during the second revolutionary civil war. They were the so-called central revolutionary base areas. They were located in the southern parts of Jiangxi and the western parts of Fujian. They once governed 21 counties and had a population of about 2.5 million.
7. Mao Zetan (1905-1935) was from Xiangtan, Hunan Province. He joined the CPC in October 1923. After the failure of the first revolutionary civil war, he took part in the Autumn Harvest Uprising and went to the Jing Gang Shan. He was once a member of the CPC special committee in the northeastern parts of Jiangsi, secretary of the Zhongxin County CPC Committee, division commander of the independent division of the Red Army, secretary general of the Central Bureau of the CPC in the soviet areas, secretary of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee, and military commander of the Fujian, Guangdong, and Jiangxi Military Region. After the main force of the Red Army carried out the Long March, he stayed in the south to persist in the guerrilla war. In April 1935, he heroically died in Ruijing when fighting against the enemy.
8. The Luguoqiao Incident is also called the 7 July Incident. Luguoqiao is more than 10 km from the city of Beijing and a gateway to the southwestern part of Beijing. On 7 July 1937, the Japanese aggressor troops started an attack on the Chinese Army from this place. Encouraged by the great mass fervor of resisting the Japanese invaders of the people throughout the country and influenced by the advocacy of the CPC of resisting the Japanese, the Chinese Army fought a heroic battle to

resist the Japanese. The Chinese people's heroic 9-year war of resistance against the Japanese started thereafter.

9. The anti-Japanese college meant the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College. Its full name was the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College. It was a college of the CPC for training military and political cadres in order to resist Japan. Its predecessor was the Red Army College of Workers and Peasants in the central revolutionary base areas. When it moved to the northern part of Shaanxi, it was called the Anti-Japanese College of the Red Army. The name was later changed to the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College.
10. Shaanbei Public School was a school run by the CPC for training cadres during the early period of the war of resistance against Japan. It was set up in Yanan in September 1937. Progressive youths from various parts of the country were admitted into the school and provided with a short-term revolutionary education. In 1939, parts of the Yanan Public School were amalgamated into Lianhe University in north China. The other parts of the school were retained in Yanan. In 1941, they were amalgamated into the Yanan University.
11. Lu Xun Art Academy was a school run by the CPC to train cadres engaged in literature and art work. It was established in Yanan in April 1938. During the third revolutionary civil war, it was moved to the northeast.
12. The party school mentioned here refers to the Central Party School. It was a school run by the CPC to provide leading cadres with a more systematic education in Marxist-Leninist theories. Its predecessor was the Marxist Communist School. It was established in Ruijing on 13 March 1933. After the Long March, the school was restored in Wayaobao in the northern part of Shaanxi in the winter of 1935 and the name was changed to the Central Party School. In early 1937, it was moved to Yanan.
13. The 1911 revolution was a revolution led by the bourgeois revolutionary political party Tong Meng Hui headed by Sun Yat-sen. On 10 October 1911, revolutionaries mobilized the new army to carry out an uprising in Wuchang, Hubei Province. After that, various provinces enthusiastically responded to the uprising. The reactionary rule of the Qing Dynasty, which was supported by foreign imperialists, rapidly collapsed. On 1 January 1921, a provisional government of the Republic of China was established in Nanjing and Sun Yat-sen took up the post of provincial president. The Chinese imperial system, which had lasted for more than 2,000 years, was thus ended. The concept of the democratic republic struck roots in the hearts of the people. However, the strength of the bourgeois revolutionary faction was still weak and had a tendency toward compromise. Therefore, it could not mobilize the broad masses of people to thoroughly carry an anti-imperialist and antifeudal revolution. The achievement of the revolution was rapidly usurped by the northern warlord Yuan Shikai. China was still unable to extricate itself from the state of semicolonialism and semifeudalism.

14. The Hongqiang Society was a peasants' armed organization with a superstitious nature. It originated in Shandong and later spread to Henan, Shaanxi, and other provinces. It took red-tasseled spears as its main weapon, so it was called the Hongqiang [red-tasseled spear] Society. The policy adopted by the CPC toward the society was to enlighten and help its members so that they could become a revolutionary force and could avoid being used by warlords and local tyrants.
15. The Gelao Society was a secret folk organization whose members were mainly bankrupt peasants, unemployed handicraftsmen, ex-servicemen, vagrants, and some landlord elements. During the 1911 revolution, they were influenced by and accepted the leadership of the revolutionaries and took part in the armed uprising.
16. The three religions refer to Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, whereas the nine schools of thought refer to the Confucians, the Taoists, the Yin-Yang, the Legalists, the Logicians, the Mohists, the Political Strategists, the Eclectics and the Agriculturists. Later, the three religions and the nine schools of thought referred in general to various religious and academic schools. In the old society, the three religions and the nine schools of thought were used to refer to various kinds of itinerant quacks.
17. Trotskyite was an abbreviation for the Trotskyite faction headed by Trotsky inside the CPSU (Bolshevik), which opposed Lenin. In this article, it refers to Trotskyites in China. After the failure of the 1927 revolution, a small number of capitulators headed by Chen Duxiu adopted a reactionary Trotskyite stand and maintained that the Chinese bourgeoisie had already won a victory in the struggle against the imperialist and feudal force and that the democratic revolution of the Chinese bourgeoisie had ended. They also held that the Chinese proletariat could only carry out socialist revolution in the future. At that time, they advocated a legitimized movement with "national congress" as their main slogan. Consequently, they liquidated the revolutionary movement. Therefore, they were also called the "Trotskyite-Chen liquidationist faction." In November 1929, Chen Duxiu and his like were expelled from the party. Directly promoted by Trotsky, Chen Duxiu cooperated with other Trotskyites to establish a unified Trotskyite organization in China in May 1931 and Chen Duxiu was elected secretary of the organization. Not long after that, its members were successively arrested by the KMT, and the organization gradually collapsed. However, some Trotskyite elements and groups still continued to carry out their activities.

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BRILLIANT DOCUMENTS FOR CONSOLIDATING THE PARTY IDEOLOGICALLY, POLITICALLY, AND ORGANIZATIONALLY--INTRODUCING THE 'SELECTED WORKS OF CHEN YUN (1926-1949)'

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[Article by Mei Xing [2734 5887]]

[Text]

I

The editorial committee on party literature of the CPC Central Committee has decided to publish the "Selected Works of Chen Yun" this year. After publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" last year, this is another event which heartens the whole party and the people. In party rectification and in building the two socialist civilizations, the comrades inside the party and the people need more and better spiritual food. The "Selected Works of Chen Yun" is published precisely for the purpose of giving people such food.

The "Selected Works of Chen Yun" is to be published in three volumes. The volume we publish now contains 45 of Comrade Chen Yun's important writings, written over a span of 23 years from July 1926 to January 1949. The writings contained in this volume constitute only a small part of all the writings written by Comrade Chen Yun in that period. However, they are representative writings.

These 45 writings by Comrade Chen Yun touch on political, military, economic, and cultural affairs. Most of them, however, are about party building. They are principally about the building of party organizations, the party's cadre policy, the party's mass line, the party's work in the White area, and the party's method of work. Comrade Chen Yun's views in all these writings are identical to those views in the articles on the same issues in Volumes 1 to 4 of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong." This shows that in the protracted revolutionary struggle, Comrade Chen Yun has adhered to the correct line of the party as represented by Comrade Mao Zedong. We should say, Comrade Chen Yun's experience in work and the suggestions made by him as well as the great contributions made by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries to the party are factors enabling Mao Zedong Thought to become a perfect example of the combination of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Today, when party



rectification has been carried out, the publication of the "Selected Works of Chen Yun (1926-1949)" is an important event in our people's political life which warrants our attention.

## II

In 1939, after our party had been established for 18 years and had experienced 2 revolutionary periods, in his "Introducing the Communist," Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the task of building up a "Bolshevized Chinese Communist Party, a party which is national in scale and has a broad mass character, a party which is fully consolidated ideologically, politically, and organizationally." At that time, Comrade Mao Zedong had explained that the reason why he had put forward this new task was: "We now have many new branches, which have a great many new members, but which cannot yet be considered as having a broad mass character, as being politically, ideologically, and organizationally consolidated. At the same time, there is the problem of raising the political level of the older party members and of making further progress in Bolshevizing the older branches and consolidating them ideologically, politically, and organizationally. The circumstances in which the party now finds itself and the responsibilities it is shouldering are quite unlike those in the revolutionary civil war period; the circumstances are much more complex and the responsibilities much heavier." Precisely according to the new task put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong under the new historical condition, Comrade Chen Yun devoted the better part of his energies to leading and carrying out the building of party organizations.

The party developed vigorously in the early days of the war of resistance against Japan. In order to build the party into a politically, ideologically, and organizationally consolidated proletarian party, it was first necessary to solve the problem of what criteria to follow in recruiting party members, or, in other words, what were the requirements for qualified party members. In 1939, Comrade Chen Yun wrote "How To Be a Communist Party Member," an important article which imposes six demands on party members. They are: First, to fight for communism throughout their lives; second, to give first priority to the interests of the revolution; third, to abide by the party's discipline and to be tight-lipped about the party's secrets; fourth, to implement the resolutions with an indomitable will; fifth, to set examples to the masses; and sixth, to study. Hereupon, all party members are required: To acquire a revolutionary outlook on life that they will fight to the end to bring about the realization of communism; to be absolutely devoted to the nation, the revolution, the class, and the party; to subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the revolution and the party and not vice versa; to regard the conscientious and resolute observance of the party's discipline as their duty and to be strictly tight-lipped about the party's secrets; to surmount the difficulties they encounter with a fearless and indomitable spirit and to remain loyal to the revolution and the party's resolutions even at a moment when their fate hangs in the balance; to set examples for the masses everywhere and in whatever they do and to carry forward a selfless spirit and the spirit of making arduous efforts, working selflessly for the public

interest, and quietly immersing oneself in hard work; to be ready at all times and in all places to acquire theoretical and cultural knowledge in their work, to strive to raise their political and educational levels, to improve their knowledge of the revolution, to foster political foresight, and to learn from the masses in actual work. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out, only by meeting the above requirements can one be worthy of the title of a good Communist Party member and can one abstain from sullyng the great honor of a Communist Party member. This is the first time in the history of our party the requirements for a Communist Party member were comprehensively put forward in accurate terms. Later, during the Yanan rectification, the CPC Central Committee made it a rule that all party members should study, among other documents, this article, and that they should compare themselves to others in light of these documents and this article.

Now, when we restudy the above six requirements for party membership, we will find that our party has set strict demands on its members and that only by making conscientious efforts for a long time and through long-term training is it possible to meet all these requirements. The nature and tasks of the party and China's social conditions have made it necessary to put forward these requirements. In the course of the revolution, our party could and had to admit many people from the petite bourgeoisie. Most of them were revolutionary peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, as well as revolutionaries from families of the exploiting classes but who had forsaken their original class. These people had entered the party with some nonproletarian ideas. Because of their low educational level and the influence of society, even those from the proletariat with the highest level of revolutionary consciousness and the highest sense of organizational discipline found it difficult to readily accept scientific communism. Precisely for this reason the CPC has set strict requirements and strict demands on its members and emphasized that to be admitted into the party organizationally is far from adequate and that it is necessary to be admitted into the party ideologically.

As early as in May 1939, in his "Why Expel Liu Ligong From the Party," Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "Our party has recruited many new members. For the purpose of seeking truth, they have joined the Communist Party and are willing to fight for communism. We welcome them. However, many of them still keep strongly nonproletarian ideas and habits. This greatly warrants our attention and we should strengthen the new members' ideological education. In addition, we ask all new members to conscientiously train themselves in the revolution and in their work and to unceasingly eliminate their erroneous ideas and habits." Three years later, in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," Comrade Mao Zedong profoundly pointed out: "We have many comrades who are still not very clear on the difference between the proletariat and the petite bourgeoisie. There are many party members who have joined the Communist Party organization but have not yet joined the party wholly or at all ideologically. Those who have not joined the party ideologically still carry in their minds a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes, and have no idea at all of what proletarian ideology, or communism, or the party is. 'Proletarian ideology?' they think. 'The same old stuff!' Little do they know that it is no easy

matter to acquire this stuff. Some will never have the slightest communist flavor about them as long as they live and can only end up by leaving the party. Therefore, though the majority in our party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against nonproletarian ideology."

The Yanan rectification movement was an extensive movement for Marxist education. The principal problem it aimed at solving was the contradictions between the proletarian ideology and the nonproletarian ideology and between the Marxist ideology and non-Marxist ideology within the party. By resolving these contradictions, our party would become unprecedentedly united ideologically, politically, and organizationally and would make tremendous development. Most of the comrades who took part in the Yanan rectification movement at that time now think that the education and training they received then were indeed unforgettable and that they have benefited by them all their lives. I am among them. To this day, I can still profoundly feel the immeasurable effects of that rectification movement in my education and transformation.

Comrade Chen Yun's "Why Expel Liu Ligong From the Party," "Party Branches," "Consolidating the Party and Strengthen Mass Work," "It Is the Duty of Communist Party Members To Study," "Strictly Abide by the Party's Discipline," and "Party Members Should Be Loyal to the Party," which are contained in this volume, are important documents on the building of the party and an embodiment, supplement, and development of Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on party building. These works of Comrade Chen Yun, generally speaking, call on all Communist Party members to arm themselves with proletarian ideas, to adopt the proletarian stand, viewpoints, and methods, and to acquire a communist world outlook. In other words, they have put forward two demands: First, to completely get rid of nonproletarian consciousness and ideologies, particularly various kinds of individualism, and to replace them with the idea of not hesitating to sacrifice one's all for the sake of emancipating the thinking of the entire human race. Second, to master the correct ideological approaches, that is, dialectical materialism and historical materialism. This is precisely what Comrade Mao Zedong said: Communists should remold one's subjective world while changing the objective world.

### III

In this volume, Comrade Chen Yun has extensively discussed the problems of the party's cadre policy and of how to build a strong contingent of cadres. "On Cadres Policy," "Some Issues Concerning the Building of Cadre Contingents," "Some Issues Concerning Cadre Work," "It Is the Party's Important Policy To Respect and Unite Nonparty Cadres," and "Cadres Should Set Strict Demands on Themselves" are representative works in this regard. "Some Issues Concerning Cadre Work" has systematically and succinctly

explained our party's "way of handling personnel." In addition to the above articles, the speech entitled "It Is Necessary To Uphold Truth But Not Prestige," which Comrade Chen Yun delivered at the Seventh CPC National Congress in 1945, has expounded, in light of the actual condition of the thinking of the cadres, particularly the leading cadres, the need for them to correct the practice of claiming credit for themselves and becoming arrogant and to further cultivate their party character. This speech is of great significance to the ideological construction of the cadre contingents. His speech entitled "Perfecting Inner-Party Life," which he delivered in 1947 in eastern Liaoning, northeast China, points out, also in light of the conditions of the thinking and organizational life of the cadres within the party, the need to overcome, with a strong sense of principle, the phenomenon of the unprincipled disputes within the party. "On the Two Tendencies Among the Writers and Artists in the Party" was written for the purpose of straightening out the thinking of the cadres then in charge of literature and art. Comrade Chen Yun has devoted immense energy to building the party a strong cadre contingent which is capable of adapting itself to China's arduous and protracted revolution.

"Cadres are a decisive factor once the political line is determined."  
"Leadership involves two main responsibilities: to work out ideas and to use cadres well." The question of how to have a good grasp of and to apply these important ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong is an important problem in the course of building the party. Comrade Chen Yun has put forward the view that "cadres have an important position in party organizations" and pointed out that "without a strong cadre contingent, our party's cause cannot develop and we cannot win the victory of the revolution."

Comrade Chen Yun has explained in detail the criteria for selecting cadres: They should be true to the proletarian cause and be loyal to the party; they should maintain a close link with the masses; they should be able to determine the direction of work and to bear responsibility; and they should abide by discipline. He said: "In short, there are two criteria for selecting cadres: political integrity and ability. Neither of the two can be absent and first place is given to political integrity." He pointed out that in promoting cadres, it is necessary to "lay equal stress on political integrity and ability and to give first place to political integrity. I am against the practice of paying attention only to ability but not to political integrity and the practice of paying attention only to political integrity but not to ability. Ability should be integrated with political integrity. By ability, I do not mean hollow ability but genuine ability, and by political integrity, I do not mean hollow political integrity. In order to examine the ability and political integrity of a cadre, it is necessary to look at his performance in accomplishing a task." This principle should be observed under any circumstances.

In building the party a cadre contingent which is competent at the task of revolution and construction, there are the problems of comprehensively finding out what and how the cadres are doing, of making use of their strong points, of regularly conducting investigations, of selecting cadres, and of training. Training is even more important and energy consuming than

selection. In his expositions, Comrade Chen Yun consistently asks the party's cadres to study the theory of Marxism (as for those comrades who have a low educational level, they are asked to acquire an elementary education), as well as to go deep into actual work in order to gradually master the basic Marxist method of combining theory with practice. Our party has grown and built up its strength through protracted armed struggles. In the party organizations, there are many peasants who, through education and theoretical studies, must arm themselves with scientific Marxist ideas before they can eliminate the petty bourgeois ideas and become proletarian revolutionaries. In addition, many intellectuals from nonproletarian classes have joined our party. They must undergo trials and hardships for a long time in actual work before they can combine the Marxist theories they have learned from books with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, eliminate various nonproletarian ideologies, and become proletarian revolutionaries. In short, the only way to train cadres to have both ability and political integrity is to combine theory with practice. As for those cadres with an intellectual background, there is the additional problem of establishing close ties with the masses.

Comrade Chen Yun has repeatedly emphasized the importance of cherishing the cadres. Party organizations should take good care of the party members and cadres as parents do their children. In order to let the cadres work contentedly, it is necessary to be concerned about their difficulties and the progress they have made in ideological and political affairs. It is necessary to be strict and fair in meting out rewards and punishments to the cadres. If they have made contributions, they should be commended. If they have made mistakes, it is necessary to unfold solemn and timely criticisms. If their mistakes are serious, it is necessary to punish them according to party discipline. However, these commendations, criticisms, and punishments should be based on a love for them. It is necessary to seek truth from facts, to know the proper limits for action, and to handle them appropriately.

It is only natural that there are ideological conflicts within the party. This can happen frequently and these conflicts can be very intense. Thus, it is necessary to foster among the cadres the practice of frequently carrying out criticism and self-criticism. In this way, they can be strict with themselves and, on the basis of a desire to bring about unity, be good at courageously criticizing those erroneous ideas and styles. Comrade Chen Yun has emphatically pointed out: "In a party which has political power in its hands and which leads an army, self-criticism is all the more important because, with the political power in its hands, it can more directly and more seriously infringe on the interests of the people by making mistakes." If we can regularly carry out the kind of "correct but not distorted and serious but not superficial criticism and self-criticism" as Comrade Mao Zedong said, we can have an important guarantee for the vigorous development of the party.

In carrying out criticism and self-criticism, Comrade Chen Yun has set an example and always practices what he advocates. He has the courage to criticize himself and to criticize some unhealthy tendencies and practices.

The article "Lessons Drawn From Land Reform Work in Eastern Liaoning," which is included in this volume, is a criticism of the "leftist" mistakes he made when he directed land reforms in eastern Liaoning. As for criticism, it was mentioned in the above that in the seven important speeches he made inside the party, he had pertinently and incisively criticized the arrogant sentiment existing among cadres, particularly senior cadres, of permitting only favorable comments but not unfavorable comments, of accepting promotions but not demotions, and of claiming credits for themselves but evading all the responsibilities for misdeeds. He had particularly pointed out, if the senior leading cadres have taken on the "mental burden" of individualism, claiming credit for themselves, and arrogance, the danger they bring about will be even greater than that brought about by those mid-level and junior cadres who have done the same thing. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: All credit should be attributed to, first, the strength of the people, second, the party's leadership, and third, the individual, in that order. This order absolutely cannot be reversed. He pointed out, on the basis of his personal experience, that among our revolutionary ranks there are indeed persons who feel that the role of the individual is even more important than those of the people and the party, and who as a result cannot pick themselves up from where they have fallen. Thus, he warned our comrades, if people respect you and say that you have done your work well, you have to be very careful, or else you will tumble. Countless facts have demonstrated that many able people have made mistakes precisely because they are proud of the minor contributions they have made.

#### IV

From the viewpoint of historical materialism, the people are the sole source of the party's power. If we have established close links with the masses, we can achieve victories; if we are seriously divorced from the masses, we are bound to suffer defeats. During the Yanan period, our party put forward the slogan of wholeheartedly serving the people and proceeding in all cases from the interests of the people. We have adhered to the principle for a long time. The line adopted by the party in its work is the mass line.

Many of the articles and expositions in this volume are devoted to discussing the party's mass line and mass work. Included in this volume are eight articles written by him during the first and second revolutionary civil wars. Most of these articles are about mass work. They have put forward some viewpoints and methods for establishing close ties with the masses. During the war of resistance against Japan, he wrote "Consolidating the Party and Strengthening Mass Work," "Mass Work Is the Focus of the Local Work at Present," and "Mass Work in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region." During China's war of liberation, he wrote "The Key To Building Bases in the Northeast Lies in the Mobilization of the Peasants," "The General Task for the Current Workers Movement," and "Speech at the Shenyang Workers Congress." Comrade Chen Yun has always regarded mass work as an important segment of the party's work.



On the question of how to mobilize, organize, rely on, and lead the masses for the purpose of carrying out the revolutionary struggle, Comrade Chen Yun has summarized our party's experiences in the protracted struggle and put forward many important views. As early as in the second revolutionary civil war, he had pointed out: "It is a crucial thing to point out the problems for which the masses urgently ask for solutions." In addition, he also pointed out: "It is necessary to be good at finding the factor for arousing the enthusiasm of the masses and to cling to it in pushing forward the work of the party branches and all our work." "It is necessary to truly understand the pressing needs of the local people and to raise slogans acceptable to them so that they will rise and fight for the realization of the slogans we have raised." During the war of resistance against Japan, in his "Consolidating the Party and Strengthening Mass Work," Comrade Chen Yun put forward the following idea: In order to consolidate and develop the party, it is necessary to strengthen the party organizations. First, in the party branches' work among the masses, it is first necessary to push forward the training of the party members through mass work and to strengthen the ties between the party and the masses in order to facilitate the consolidation of the party organizations. He unambiguously pointed out: "Whether mass work is properly or poorly done is one of the criteria for measuring the extent to which the party organizations have been consolidated." Later, in his "Mass Work Is the Focus of the Local Work at Present," he put forward an important idea in even clearer terms: "In connecting party, government, military, civil, and educational work, in making progress in all our work, and in developing and perfecting it, the basic link is mass work. If we cannot cling to this link and overcome our weaknesses in mass work, we will not be able to hold our anti-Japanese bases or to persistently continue with our guerrilla war."

In his articles on mass work, Comrade Chen Yun has repeatedly explained, as a method or a guiding principle to be followed by the party, the following principle: The masses suffered exploitation, oppression, and untold difficulties in their lives in the old society. In doing mass work, we communists should first be concerned about the weal and woe of the masses and give them discernible benefits in the struggle. Broadly speaking, we are to improve upon the political, economic, and cultural status of the masses before we enlighten and educate them, improve their political awareness, and lead them to fight for the long-term and fundamental interests of the people as a whole in order to fulfill the central task proposed by the party. Comrade Chen Yun has repeatedly emphasized that the tasks proposed by the party can be successfully fulfilled only when they have been turned into the voluntary actions of the masses. Later, during China's war of liberation, in his "On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy," Comrade Mao Zedong made the following exposition on this issue: "The leading class and the leading party must fulfill two conditions in order to exercise their leadership of the classes, strata, political parties, and people's organizations which are being led: 1) Lead those who are led (allies) to wage resolute struggles against the common enemy and achieve victories; 2) bring material benefits to those who are led or at least not damage their interests and at the same time give them political education. Without both these conditions, or with only one,

leadership cannot be realized." In building socialism, we should also follow these principles.

## V

In this volume of Comrade Chen Yun's works, there are four expositions which are devoted to discussing the party's work in the White area.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi represented the correct line of the party's work in the White area. Comrades Zhou Enlai and Chen Yun, together with Comrade Liu Shaoqi, adhered to the party's correct line. Since his entrance into the central soviet area in January 1933, Comrade Chen Yun had been the director of the central department in charge of the work in the White area. When he was the director of the Central Committee's Organization Department in Yanan, he was concurrently in charge of the party's work in the areas under KMT rule (that is, the rear area).

Comrade Chen Yun wrote "Thorough Reorganization of the Party and Expansion of the Activities Outside the Party in the Rear Area" and "Improving the Party's Secret Work in the Rear Area," two of the party's guiding documents, by summarizing the past working experiences in the White area and according to the new conditions and new tasks. In these two articles, Comrade Chen Yun has skillfully applied materialist dialectics, brought about a dialectical unity of several opposite things, and made penetrating expositions. These two articles not only play an important role in guiding the party's work but also help the comrades inside the party study and grasp materialist dialectics.

On the work and organization of the party in the rear area, Comrade Chen Yun has first put forward the principle of "a few inside the party but many outside the party." As the presence of the party in the rear area was completely secret, it had to be small and yet strong in order to prevent sabotage. However, it could not work if there were only a few party members. Thus, it should make good use of the unprecedentedly broad social basis for the revolution and go all out to mobilize and organize those who were ideologically sympathetic with the party and those communists outside the party. There was no need to worry that there were many such people, because the more such people there were, the better the party's work could be developed, the better the secret organizations of the party were camouflaged, and the greater their strength was. Thus, the principle of "a few inside the party but many outside the party" was the only correct principle.

Another important principle put forward by Comrade Chen Yun was that in doing the party's work in the rear area, including the recruitment of new party members, attention should not be confined to workers, peasants, and members of the petite bourgeoisie, but should also be geared to the members of the upper and intermediate strata, and that it was necessary to comprehensively and boldly carry out comprehensive cooperation with the upper and intermediate circles and to admit the revolutionaries among them into the party. He pointed out that under certain conditions, the activities at the upper strata are of decisive significance. More often than



not progress at the higher levels constitutes favorable conditions for the work at the lower levels. In addition, if the activities at the higher levels are comprehensive, we are more capable of penetrating society and expanding the revolutionary bases. This principle had changed the dogmatists' traditional way of doing things in the past. In the opinion of the dogmatists, in the rear area, only by developing the work at the lower levels could progress be made in the work at the higher levels. They denied the importance of strengthening the work at the higher and intermediate levels. They did not understand that strengthening the work at the higher and intermediate levels did not impede the work at the lower levels but was favorable for it, and that as a result of the strengthening of the work at the upper and intermediate levels, there would be ample room for making changes in the party's activities.

On the question of the forms of organization, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out the need to avoid by all means rigidity and uniformity and to be "disorderly and unsystematic." Being "disorderly and unsystematic" here means the existence of varied forms. For example, those party members who were individually in contact with the party were not registered by the party branches, the connection between the party members and the party remained unchanged even if their addresses had changed, and those cadres whose identity had been exposed or was about to be exposed were ordered to leave their jobs temporarily. From the viewpoint of ordinary organizational principles, it is difficult to understand these practices. However, in the rear area, under the special condition that the enemy was attempting to round up by every possible means all our party organizations at one fell swoop, being "disorderly and unsystematic" was absolutely necessary for preserving and developing the party's strength and for awaiting a chance to comprehensively carry out the party's work.

In these two articles, Comrade Chen Yun has emphasized the need for party committees at all levels in the rear area to carry out detailed investigations on the KMT in various aspects, to become "experts on the KMT," and, in their work, to unite with the advanced and middle elements of the KMT. The party's success in this work has been known to all. The success in this work constituted an important factor for the speedy victory of the revolution.

## VI

After the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Chen Yun was ordered by the Central Committee to work in the northeast. At that time the questions of whether or not we could hold our ground in the northeast, of whether or not we could rely on the Soviet Union, of whether or not we could mobilize the masses, and of whether or not we could build stable base areas were of great importance to the questions of whether or not we could defeat the KMT Army, which was then in a dominant position, and of whether or not we could have the initiative of the overall situation of the war of liberation in our hands.

In order to build stable base areas in the northeast, it was necessary to formulate well-defined principles on the basis of the conditions at that time and in that place. On the basis of the strategic decision of the CPC Central Committee, in his telegram to the CPC Central Committee and the CPC Northeast Bureau which he himself drafted on 30 November 1945, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The guiding principle for our present work in Manchuria should not be to focus our attention on these three cities (Note: Shenyang, Changchun, and Harbin). We should concentrate our armed forces on the frontlines in Jinzhou and Shenyang in order to mount attacks whenever circumstances permit on the KMT troops and to race against time. At the same time, we should actively, swiftly, and in a planned manner disperse other armed forces and cadres to northern, western, and eastern Manchuria, including the rural areas, small and medium-size cities, and the strategic areas along the feeder railroads in order to mop up the reactionary forces and bandits, to liquidate the traitor forces, to go all out to mobilize the masses, to expand our forces, to reorganize the governments, and to extensively build stable base areas in the periphery of the three cities and along the Changchun Railroad." This principle, which was the only correct one, was soon accepted by the Central Committee. On 28 December, on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong drafted the instructions for the CPC Northeast Bureau and made even more definite and more specific stipulations concerning the guiding principle for the struggle in the northeast.

With the support of the U.S. imperialists, Chiang Kai-shek did all he could to contend with us for the northeast, an area of the utmost strategic importance. Thus, our struggle in the northeast was extremely arduous and complicated. Only as a result of the CPC Northeast Bureau's adherence to the CPC Central Committee's correct principle could our army change its political and military positions from passive to active. After fighting hard for 3 years, we had eventually liberated the northeast and thus laid a solid foundation for the liberation of all of China. Throughout the entire event, Comrade Chen Yun was a member of the leadership of the CPC Northeast Bureau. In addition, he personally mobilized the masses in both northern and southern Manchuria, organized the armed forces, and directed operations. He had made great contributions to building base areas in the northeast as well as to liberating the entire northeast.

When we were about to win the overall victory of the war in the northeast, Comrade Chen Yun diverted his attention to financial and economic work. In August 1948, after summarizing his experiences in taking over the railroads, mines, power stations, telecommunications and post offices, and light and heavy industrial plants, he wrote "Correctly Treating the Staff in Newly Taken-Over Enterprises." In addition, he pointed out the need to give an important place to financial and economic work and called for the overcoming of the lack of guidance in financial and economic work and the strengthening of planning. The popularization of these experiences had played an important role in maintaining the political stability of the newly liberated cities and in resuming production.

## VII

Two articles in this volume are specially devoted to discussing methods of leadership and work. In addition, there are instances of the discussion on this problem in other articles. Comrade Chen Yun adopts the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts in handling each piece of work and each problem. His views and opinions have their roots in the actual circumstances. They are totally in keeping with the principles of Marxism. In his "Mastering the Methods of Leadership," an outline for a speech of about 1,000 characters which he wrote in late 1940, Comrade Chen Yun has put forward many extremely important ideas such as: Only with a correct understanding of the political line and the actual circumstances can we ensure the implementation of the political line; there should be unity between subjectivity and objectivity and the subjectively decided plans should be based on objective possibility; new developments should proceed from old positions; it is extremely important to correctly handle the relations between those in higher and those in lower positions of responsibility; those in higher positions should draw on the experiences of those in lower positions in order to improve leadership and, except in enforcing those orders which must be strictly enforced, let those in lower positions handle problems according to the actual circumstances; inspections should "disclose the inside stories," which means it is necessary to go down to the grassroots units and to grasp typical cases; it is necessary to grasp the focus of work while giving consideration to other things; it is necessary to distinguish work of primary importance from work of secondary importance and central work from regular work, in addition to making unified arrangements for them; boldness and resolution should be combined with care and precision, grasp something before you digest it, and work should be done bit by bit; work should be done piece by piece, and the most effective and quickest way to do work task is to complete it thoroughly. These views are in keeping with those Comrade Mao Zedong expressed in "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," an article Comrade Mao Zedong drafted in 1943 for the Central Committee. Of course, Comrade Mao Zedong's views were more condensed. Comrade Mao Zedong had summarized the party's correct leadership as being from the masses and to the masses from the viewpoint of Marx epistemology.

Comrade Chen Yun said that in learning to master the principle of seeking truth from facts, he had studied the actual circumstances, learned from the masses, and studied Marxism. When he was the director of the Organization Department of the Central Committee in Yanan, he personally led the comrades to study the theory of Marxism and, in particular, Marx' philosophical works. In recent years, he has mentioned many times his study of Marxist philosophy under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong and his help has greatly helped him improve his political understanding and has played an important part in preventing mistakes in his work. The famous saying "not to stick to the instructions from above or what is said in the books but to be practical and realistic" is a generalization he made in view of the erroneous Wang Ming line adopted during the second revolutionary civil war after his study of philosophy and the rectification movement in Yanan. To be practical and realistic is to seek truth from facts, or, to integrate scientific theories with concrete practice.

At present, among some young students, there is an absence of enthusiasm for studying Marxism. Even among cadres inside the party, including the leading cadres, there are people who think that whether or not we study Marxism is of no vital importance. This phenomenon should be seriously attended to. We are communists. Marxism is the most effective weapon with which we achieve victories in all our work. If we abandon this weapon, we will eventually suffer defeats. Of course, in studying theories, we should combine our study with the actual circumstances. We should not study them in a dogmatic way. We should never repeat the dogmatic mistakes.

Before his death, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly called on the party's cadres, particularly those leading cadres, to master the scientific method of materialist dialectics in order to solve the problems arising from actual work and to avoid mistakes. He had repeatedly pointed out that idealism and metaphysics are the principal factors for many of the serious mistakes in our work. The party's cadres, particularly those responsible for leadership, should regularly but not intermittently, earnestly but not casually, and conscientiously but not reluctantly study the theory of Marxism and, in particular, Marxist philosophy, adhere to materialism, and master dialectics. In this way, we can do our work better, make less subjective or metaphysical mistakes in our work, and make the party's cause develop more quickly and more smoothly.

Comrade Chen Yun is one of the older generation of revolutionaries. He is enjoying high prestige. Since his participation in the revolution, 60 years has elapsed. He and the older generation of revolutionaries represented by Comrade Mao Zedong form the core of the party leadership. They have led the Chinese people to defeat the counterrevolutionary forces at home and abroad and to bring about a new China. Since the founding of the country, he has always directed economic construction. In directing the socialist economic reforms and the socialist economic construction, he has proceeded in all cases from the actual circumstances and adhered to the principle of seeking truth from facts. On the basis of a summary of China's practical experiences, he has drawn many conclusions which are different from ordinary empty concepts and has creatively developed socialist political economy. The whole party is familiar with the contributions he has made in this regard. He is also praised by people of insight at home and abroad for his contributions. The other two volumes of his works are principally about economic issues. They will be published in succession and put on sale throughout the country.

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THE GUIDING POLICY FOR DEVELOPING THE SOCIALIST CAUSE OF EDUCATION--  
UNDERSTANDING GAINED BY STUDYING 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

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[Article by He Dongchang [0149 2639 2490]]

[Text] The educational front is one of those fronts which were most seriously disrupted by the counterrevolutionary clique headed by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and which were deeply influenced by "leftist" ideology. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping appealed to the whole party to respect knowledge and qualified personnel, even before he came back to work. After returning to work, while criticizing the "two whatevers" and making unremitting efforts to restore our party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts, he first repealed the "two appraisals"\* imposed by the "gang of four" on the educational front, thus emancipating the vast numbers of educational workers and intellectuals politically and spiritually. Pooling the wisdom of our party and the masses and displaying the strategic foresight of a proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Deng Xiaoping systematically summed up the lessons of both the positive and negative experiences of our educational work over the three decades since the founding of the PRC. In the light of an analysis of the road of development taken by various advanced industrial countries in the world and in the light of the overall situation of our country's socialist modernization, he put forth the correct argument that "the key to modernization is that science and technology must develop; and to develop science and technology, we must necessarily grasp education." He raised the question of education to an unprecedentedly high place and scientifically brought to light the status and role of education in socialist modernization. Thus, he caused our country's educational work to enter a new historical stage.

Education is the most basic and most effective method whereby man carries on and propagates the cultural and scientific knowledge accumulated over

\*The "two appraisals," fabricated by the "gang of four" and company and put forth in a document, meant that during the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution the educational front was dominated by "dictatorship of the sinister line" whereby the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat and the majority of intellectuals, being bourgeois intellectuals, basically had a bourgeois world outlook.

several thousand years. It is a necessary condition for the modernization of any country in the present age. Science and technology can be converted into directly usable social productive forces only if they can be used by various kinds of specialists who are trained through education and by workers with some definite cultural and scientific knowledge and production skills. The wide application of modern science and technology in production is an important feature of modern production. The birth, application, and development of science and technology is increasingly more closely related to education. Without a corresponding development of education, we cannot have modern production, and even if we can afford to import advanced technology and equipment, it will be difficult for us to master and use them owing to a lack of qualified personnel, thus leading to enormous waste. In the contemporary world, science and technology are developing rapidly and the competition between various countries in the economic, military, educational, and scientific and technological fields is becoming increasingly more intense. Nowadays, a major indicator of a country's strength is the number and standard of its scientific and technological specialists as well as the degree of popularization and development of education. After World War II, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany quickly developed into economically strong nations out of the ruins of war. An important reason is that they paid attention to the development of intellectual resources and had a relatively strong intellectual base. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "If our country is to catch up with advanced world standards, what should we do first? I think we must proceed from developing science and technology." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 45, subsequent references to quotes from this book will give only the page number.) We must enhance our understanding, vigorously create conditions for quickening the development of our educational and scientific undertakings, and vigorously upgrade all our workers' quality with regard to politics, education, science, and technology. This is a strategic task of the proletariat and a historical mission of the CPC. If this task is not satisfactorily accomplished, not only will the great cause of the four modernizations be jeopardized, but the consolidation of our country's socialist political system and economic system will also be affected.

In delivering an opening address to the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth the historical task of "integrating the universal truths of Marxism with our country's actual conditions, taking our own path, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics." This is the basic conclusion we have drawn from many years of historical experience and also the basic guiding ideology that can enable us to run our education satisfactorily. Education must serve the building of, and is itself also a part of, socialism with Chinese characteristics. The series of important expositions on educational work made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly point out the orientation for advance in our development of socialist educational undertakings and in our building of a socialist educational system with Chinese characteristics.

Adhere to the Socialist Orientation, Render Service to the Building of a Highly Developed Material Civilization and a Highly Developed Socialist Spiritual Civilization

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Our schools are places for training qualified personnel for socialist construction." (p 100) Young people and children are the principal objects of our education. Their political and vocational qualities directly affect the orientation and success of our country's building of material civilization and spiritual civilization as well as the future and destiny of our motherland. Education must not only consider the needs of construction in the present stage, but must also consider the future communist movement. Thus, we are required to adhere to the four basic principles in all our educational undertakings. Schools at various levels must take a firm and correct political orientation as a matter of prime importance and persist in educating students in patriotism, collectivism, socialism, and communism. They must help the students establish a correct goal of study, develop a habit of studying diligently for the cause of socialism, and acquire the ideology of serving the people wholeheartedly. In this way, students can really achieve all-round moral, intellectual, and physical development, becoming new men who harbor lofty ideals, who have high moral and educational standards, who abide by discipline, who become progressively better from generation to generation, and who can continue and push forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries.

Revolutionary ideological-political work is a fine tradition of our party which was developed during the protracted revolutionary wars. Today, it is still an important guarantee of persistence in the socialist orientation in various categories of work in our country, including educational work. It also marks a basic distinction between our country's socialist education and all kinds of exploiting-class education. Since the founding of the PRC, it has been prominently successful in changing the general mood of society, training people to be Red and expert qualified personnel, and training people to form a large reserve army of labor. The emergence of a new generation of outstanding intellectuals, typified by Comrades Luan Fu [2940 5397], Luo Jianfu [5012 0256 1133], Jiang Zhuying [5592 4639 5391], and so on, markedly highlight the important role of our party's ideological-political work. In an earlier period, some comrades who worked in schools grasped only the learning of scientific knowledge at the expense of ideological-political work. This method of work is one-sided and harmful. We should soberly note that in the current new historical period, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits, various negative, backward, decadent, and ugly things will not quickly vanish, and hostile forces at home and abroad will not give up their sabotage activities but will try all means to vie with us for winning over the younger generation. It is absolutely correct for us to implement the policy of opening our country to economic intercourse with the rest of the world while enlivening our domestic economy, and to carry out cultural exchange with other countries. In this process, the decadent ideologies and life-styles of the exploiting classes will inevitably exert an influence. Very often, schools, particularly those of higher learning, are



places where various trends of thought find expression and where there are relatively many channels for bringing in external influences. Thus, spiritual pollution will occur to various extents among some students who lack a firm ideology or power of immunity. Therefore, not only must we not weaken ideological-political education in schools, but we must constantly improve and strengthen it. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Starting from the first day students come to school, we must do ideological-political work to influence them. The schools' party and league organizations and all teachers must do ideological-political work to educate the students." (p 254) He also said: "Some young people are discontented with certain aspects of the present situation of society. This is neither surprising nor dreadful. However, we must pay attention to providing guidance. Not satisfactorily doing so will be harmful to them." (p 346) This tells us that a basic task of our schools' ideological-political work is to provide education in Marxist theory, our party's policies, and scientific and cultural knowledge, so as to raise the cognitive standard of those educated, to safeguard young people's healthy growth, to give them guidance in opposing and criticizing various kinds of erroneous ideas that deviate from Marxism or the socialist path, to eliminate the influences of various decadent and moribund ideologies, and to resist the invasion of various kinds of foreign bourgeois ideologies. Moreover, through various kinds of educational activities, we must train them to be staunch successors who can stand the test of spiritual pollution, and who can help build and spread socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. We must fully understand the new and more stringent demands on ideological-political work in the new historical period. We must continue to study new circumstances, solve new problems, sum up new experience, and thus carry forward our party's fine traditions in ideological-political work.

#### Fully Implement the Guiding Principle of Integrating Education With Productive Labor, Let Education Cater to the Four Modernizations

The integration of education with productive labor is an important Marxist principle concerning educational work. It is a basic way of training socialist new men with all-round development and an important measure for gradually reducing or eliminating the differences between mental labor and physical labor. Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong always paid attention to integrating education with productive labor. In the late 1950's, Comrade Liu Shaoqi put forth the idea of two labor systems and two education systems, thus vigorously promoting the implementation of this guiding principle. However, over a considerably long period of time, our interpretation of integration of education with productive labor was often related to providing ideological education and training the students to integrate theory with practice, and we gave relatively little consideration to the fact that our education must be compatible with the needs of the development of the entire national economy and society. For a time, there was too much labor and the normal sequence of teaching was disrupted. During the 10 years of internal disorder, the "gang of four" even turned productive labor into a means of punishing intellectuals, thus discrediting productive labor. After the smashing of the "gang of four," some comrades did not concretely analyze this matter but misunderstood



students' participation in productive labor as a product of "leftist" mistakes. Therefore, they have not persisted in implementing this correct guiding principle. Under this condition, Comrade Deng Xiaoping summed up both positive and negative experiences, saying: "To train the qualified personnel needed for socialist construction, we must conscientiously study how to more satisfactorily implement the guiding principle of integrating education with productive labor under the new conditions." He said: "Various categories of schools must make appropriate arrangements as to what kinds of labor students must participate in, how students can be sent to factories and the countryside, how much time is to be spent, and how labor can be closely integrated with teaching. What is more important, the entire educational undertaking must be compatible with the requirements for national economic development. Otherwise, if what the students learn is not compatible with their future professions and cannot be applied, and if the knowledge they will need to use differs from what they learn, then is not the guiding principle of integrating education with productive labor basically violated? How can the students' enthusiasm in study and labor be mobilized? How can the enormous demands of the new historical period on educational work be satisfied?" (pp 104-105) Thus, he raised the question of integration of education with productive labor to the high plane of being a basic guiding ideology for developing our country's educational work. Moreover, proceeding from our country's concrete conditions, he put forth a way of fully integrating education with productive labor in our country.

Considering the overall situation, and in a general sense, the guiding principle of fully integrating education with productive labor primarily requires us to make the entire educational undertaking compatible with and well coordinated with national economic development. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Our national economy develops in a planned and proportionate way. Therefore, we should correspondingly have detailed plans for training specialists and a reserve army of labor." (p 105) A planned proportionate development of our educational undertaking is a necessary requirement for our country's economic and social development. Since the founding of the PRC, in our educational work, aside from a roughly appropriate plan during the First 5-Year Plan period, there was not any realistic plan over many subsequent years, and there were several great upturns and declines. On the one hand, there was a lack of qualified personnel; but on the other hand, there was a waste of qualified personnel, marked by disparity between application and knowledge learned. Consequently, disproportion occurred between education and various national economic sectors, and between various levels or categories of education within the educational sector. To this day, an arduous readjustment task still remains to be tackled. Precisely for the sake of solving this problem, the CPC Central Committee has categorized education as a strategic key point in economic development, has readjusted the proportional relationship between education and economic work, and has resolved to gradually increase the proportion of educational investment in fiscal expenditure, so that in the light of the needs of the building of two categories of civilization, we can make education really become a basic condition for promoting economic development and we can put an end to our backwardness

in culture and our lack of qualified personnel. Of course, in order that school education should be compatible on an overall scale with the needs of our country's socialist modernization, we must also correspondingly reform our labor system, personnel system, and wage system; we must carry out comprehensive assessments of the moral, intellectual, and physical achievements of the graduates of various categories of schools of various grades, and we must employ good quality personnel through selection, so that the establishment of an unobstructed channel between the educational sector and the personnel-employing sectors can be ensured and the abilities of our personnel can be fully used.

Judging from the situation of the educational sector itself, many things remain to be done if we want to fully implement the guiding principle of integrating education with productive labor. We must first formulate overall plans and pay attention to training both various categories of specialized personnel and a reserve army of labor. In this way, education can genuinely cater to our modernization construction which revolves round economic construction, and the students of various categories of schools of various grades can become new types of workers who can integrate theory with practice and who can perform both manual labor and mental labor. To fulfill this requirement, we must overcome various kinds of blindness which reflect deviation from the needs of the four modernizations, and we must correct our guiding ideology concerning the running of schools. Currently, we must pay attention to opposing those erroneous practices which violate laws of education and teaching and which involve a one-sided pursuit of a high proportion of students entering schools of higher grades. We must carry out educational reforms vigorously, in a planned way, and with the exercise of leadership; in particular, we must reform the structure of secondary school education and increase the proportion of vocational and technical education. We must reform the curricula, course content, and teaching methods adopted by various categories of schools. In concretely planning for teaching plans, we must study the current and future demands of our modernization on various subjects, we must study the characteristics and laws of integration of various subjects with productive labor, and we must correctly handle the relationship between class teaching and the practice of productive work. While adhering to the systematic teaching of cultural and scientific knowledge, we must strengthen labor education and improve the quality of education on an overall scale, so that through practice, students can gradually learn the great significance of the integration of mental labor with manual labor and the integration of intellectuals with workers and peasants.

Persist in "Walking on Two Legs," Establish Many Levels, Many Standards, and Many Institutional Forms in Running Schools

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "After all, we must walk on two legs in educational work." (p 51) This is an important guiding principle put forth according to our national condition and this is a characteristic of our country's educational development. We must conscientiously implement this principle and adhere to it for a long time to come.

Ours is a developing country with a large population. Many varied economic sectors will continue to exist and the technological structure will embody many levels over a relatively long historical period. Therefore, not only must we develop technology-intensive industries in order to greatly raise labor productivity, but we must also continue to develop labor-intensive industries so that the masses can be fully employed. In view of this situation, our specialized personnel and our reserve army of labor must necessarily be required to consist of many varied types and to be of many varied standards. Moreover, our country has a vast territory, so that if we compare the cities with the countryside, the coastal regions with the inland regions, the plains with the mountain areas, or regions where the Han nationality live in compact communities, with regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities, we find that our economic development is not balanced, our cultural and educational foundations are not uniform, and there are considerable differences in the residents' habits, customs, characteristics in work, and demands for education. Thus, the requirements related to the running of schools and the forms in which schools are run must be compatible with the various localities' actual conditions and characteristics. We must implement the principle of integrating unity with variety and combining popularization with the raising of standards. We must adhere to the guiding principle of "walking on two legs." In running schools, we must establish many levels, many standards, and many forms of schools. Considering higher education, we must both satisfactorily run regular college courses and vigorously develop professional courses and postgraduate classes; we must not only develop ordinary full-time institutes and schools, but must also develop various types of higher-learning institutes such as correspondence or evening universities, broadcast or television universities, higher schools for workers, and so on, so as to encourage people to become qualified personnel by studying on their own; and we must not only satisfactorily run general institutes and schools, but must also concentrate some forces to satisfactorily run a number of key institutes and schools in order to turn them into education and scientific research centers. Considering secondary schools, while satisfactorily running key exemplary or experimental secondary schools, we must also vigorously do a good job of running all ordinary secondary schools. In vocational and technical education, it is even more important to establish many standards and many forms. Our entire educational undertaking must not only serve to train qualified personnel for the state sector of the economy, but must also serve the collective economy and the individual worker economy by supplying technological forces, providing training, and rendering possible technological services. Any requirements or practices marked by "making a sweeping categorization of things like cutting something into two clear-cut halves with a knife" are disadvantageous to the development of our educational undertaking.

To develop our educational undertaking, we must raise a considerable sum of money. At present, our country does not have a great deal of fiscal reserves, and how to solve the problem of education funds is a very important question. Our experience since the founding of the PRC has proved that we should raise funds thorough many varied channels in order to develop our education. On one side, the central and local authorities must

gradually increase education expenses and devote a greater share of the state's fiscal expenditure to education expenses and capital construction investment in educational undertakings. Comrade Deng Xiaoping attached enormous importance to this question and stressed that "the question of knowledge is crucial to our four modernizations and the development of intellectual resources is one of the key areas of our investment." (RENMIN RIBAO, 19 June 1983) He said that if we do not increase our education expenses year after year, "our modernization will not succeed." (p 214) Of course, if our educational work which caters to several hundred million people is to be satisfactorily run, it is impossible for the state to be responsible for all the expenses. Therefore, we must also pay attention to the other side, namely, a vigorous mobilization of the enthusiasm of various quarters in running schools; these are the factories, mines, enterprises, institutions, rural cooperative organizations, and the masses. We must make everyone realize that in this era when science and technology are developing day after day, educational investment is absolutely not an investment for purely consumption purposes, but is an important kind of productive investment. Education can promote the development of production and quickly enhance economic results. Therefore, "education is definitely not merely the education departments' concern; the party committees at various levels must conscientiously grasp it, treating it as an important matter. Various professions and trades must support our educational undertaking and vigorously initiate educational work." (p 92)

#### Strengthen and Develop Rural Educational Work

Comrade Deng Xiaoping requires us to remember always that our country's most prominent characteristic is that 800 million out of our population of 1 billion people are peasants. In our country's education system, rural educational work is the link which caters to the largest number of people but which is weakest. The countryside is relatively inferior in the extent of popularization of education, the conditions for running schools, and the quality of teachers. If rural educational work does not considerably develop and improve, a change in the face of China's education will be out of the question. Agriculture is the basis and strategic key area of our national economy. After the institution of responsibility systems in production in the countryside, the rural economy has rapidly developed and the pace of conversion of traditional agriculture into modern agriculture has quickened. At present, however, there is an acute shortage of rural scientific and technological personnel, and the overwhelming majority of agricultural workers have a low standard in cultural knowledge, science, and technology. This is a sharp contradiction. Therefore, the development and strengthening of rural educational work should be a "key project" in education. It is both an urgent task and a long-term strategic task.

To strengthen and develop rural educational work, we must first straighten out our ideology concerning the running of schools and adhere to the orientation of making education serve the modernization of agriculture. In the light of this guiding ideology, we must reform and develop various categories of educational work of various grades in the countryside, and overcome the erroneous tendency to divorce education from the actual rural

condition. What we must do in this respect includes reforming the rural educational structure, developing various categories of vocational and technical education necessary to rural construction, augmenting the content of ordinary education by adding basic agricultural knowledge, production techniques, and so on, requiring institutions of higher learning, particularly those which are closely related to agriculture, to serve the development of agriculture and rural educational work, and so on. In dealing with old liberated areas, minority nationalities regions, mountain areas, outlying districts, and poverty-stricken areas, we must adopt some special policies, support them by providing human and financial resources, and gradually reduce the differences between them and other localities.

The provision of universal primary education will be a major administrative task. In this connection, the countryside is of crucial importance. In the cities and in those rural areas enjoying relatively favorable conditions, the problem of providing school places for children of school age has been basically solved. However, in some remote or backward districts, the percentage of children attending school is low and the mobility of pupils is high. If universal primary education is not provided, the number of illiterates will keep on increasing, our modernization will inevitably be affected, and the elimination of ignorance, backwardness, and feudal superstition in some localities will be hindered. We must fully realize the necessity and importance of universal primary education. Tackling the task in successive stages and a part at a time, we must adopt realistic and practicable measures and strive to basically accomplish this historical task in the 1980's. We must adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, proceed from reality, create through trials a set of specific ways and forms of universal education that are compatible with our national condition, and work in a down-to-earth way without practicing formalism. In dealing with the student enrollment rate and the proportion of students who graduate from schools, we must set unified basic requirements and be flexible. The content of courses must be compatible with the needs of local economic life and social needs, and many forms of schools must be run, so that the production activities and livelihood of the masses can be benefited, and endorsement and support from the broad masses can be won. Only thus can we basically increase the proportions of children who enter schools, who do not drop out, or who can graduate from schools.

To make primary education universal, we must make it free and draw up education legislation to ensure success. This is a common experience of many countries in the world. Our new constitution will include articles that provide for free and universal primary education. This is a beginning in our country's effort to ensure universal education through legislation. We should also draw up specific laws and regulations concerning universal free education. Moreover, we must continuously enhance people's understanding of the strategic significance of development of education. We must make the party committees and government leaders at various levels grasp education like grasping economic work, so that they will fully mobilize the enthusiasm of various quarters in order to solve various practical problems in the work of making education universal. Thus, this arduous historical task can be expected to be accomplished.

## Build a Stable Contingent of Qualified Teachers

On the education front, the strengthening of ideological-political work, the protection of students from spiritual pollution, the reform of teaching, and the improvement of the quality of teaching work, all ultimately depend on the ideological and political standards and professional ability of the contingent of teachers. Without a stable contingent of qualified teachers, our training cannot produce high quality qualified personnel even if we incur greater expenses and have better equipment. Therefore, the question of teachers is a strategic question in educational work. It can be resolved only if we continue making efforts for a relatively long time. We must pay great attention to it and start work as soon as possible.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pays great attention to the building of our contingent of teachers. He clearly stated: "Whether a school can train students to be the up-to-standard qualified personnel necessary for socialist construction or educated workers with social consciousness and with all-round development, depends crucially on the teachers." "The students can learn well only if the teachers teach well." (pp 105, 52) Even now, the quality of our contingent of teachers has not returned to the highest level of the past owing to the effects of the sabotage done during the 10 years of internal disorder. In particular, the proportion of unqualified teachers is quite high among secondary and primary schools. This is one reason why the quality of our education is not high. The education departments of various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions must organize forces to conduct an earnest investigation and analysis of the condition of serving teachers. They must make overall plans for training teachers working in universities, secondary schools, primary schools, and kindergartens. They must also take practical and effective measures "to upgrade teachers' standard, including political and ideological standard and professional ability, and to improve their style of work," (p 52) so that the overwhelming majority of teachers can be gradually made to satisfy the requirements stipulated by the state. We must strengthen the building of colleges of education and in-service teacher training colleges. We must organize those localities with a better foundation in educational work to support the teacher training work in old liberated areas, minority nationalities regions, mountain areas, outlying districts, and poverty-stricken areas. We must further perfect the personnel management system of our education system and turn our contingent of teachers into a qualified, stable, well balanced, and capable one. Only if this condition is fulfilled can success in providing universal education, and achieving the upgrading of the educational quality of various categories of schools of various grades, be genuinely, practically, and reliably guaranteed.

Ideological-political work for teachers must be strengthened in the light of the characteristics of intellectuals. We must make every teacher understand that as an educator he must first be educated, that he must vigorously make himself both Red and expert, and that he must really become a socialist teacher of a new type, who caters to the people. Every teacher must ardently love his students, teach knowledge in order to nurture them, establish a new type of relationship with them, and really



become their model, good teacher, and helpful friend. Those teachers who fulfill the requirements of a party member must be promptly admitted into the party.

Teachers perform complicated and arduous mental labor. They are engineers of the human soul and "gardeners who train people to be new generations of revolutionaries." (p 92) Their work is very important and they should be respected and praised. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that we must develop a general mood of respect for teachers. "Not only students, but society as a whole, should respect teachers." (p 106) We must correct all kinds of thinking and conduct in society that involve looking down on teachers or discriminating against them. Teachers' interests and rights must be resolutely protected by law. We must make people understand that respecting teachers means respecting culture and science and is basic, civilized behavior expected of a citizen.

The teachers of our country's universities, secondary schools, primary schools, and kindergartens, constitute an important part of the contingent of intellectuals in our country. Over the past several years, the party committees of various localities have done a great deal of work in implementing policies concerning intellectuals and have achieved success. In the future, we should further implement these policies. We should show concern for our teachers with great fervor, raise their political status, social status, and remuneration, improve the conditions of their work and livelihood, and mobilize their enthusiasm. Not only must their leading role in teaching work be brought into play, but in all school work, their role as members of the working class and as masters must also be brought into play.

Teacher training education is a basic education and is like a machine tool. The building of teacher training colleges is a kind of basic construction on the education front. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Without satisfactory teacher training education, a source of teachers will not be available." (p 66) We must adopt a long-term point of view and grasp teacher training education as a key strategic task. We must spend several years pooling definite quantities of material, financial, and human resources, achieving a good development in teacher training education, and establishing a network of teacher training institutes of various grades. Only thus can we supply qualified teachers to secondary and primary schools and gradually put an end to the vicious circle in educational work. Teacher training colleges of various grades must categorically establish the ideology of catering to secondary, primary, and kindergarten education and serving schools of these grades. With the development of our country's economic construction and scientific and cultural undertakings, people will inevitably set increasingly greater demands on teachers. Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently said: "Education must cater to our modernization, the world, and the future." Teachers must first vigorously acquire the knowledge and quality necessary to the fulfillment of these requirements. Only thus can they train students to fulfill the requirements of our modernization and of the new technological revolution in the world. Of course, this is a long-term strategic goal. However, we must now start



working to vigorously create conditions for attaining this goal. In matters of enrolling new students, distribution of school places, curriculum planning, course content, teaching methods and so on, we must conscientiously consider the needs of both current and long-term development, continue to carry out reforms, and continuously raise quality. To lay a good foundation for making education universal, other schools of higher learning and technical middle schools must render teacher training service. In the long term, all teachers in the realm of general education should be graduates of universities or post-secondary colleges, because only thus can we really lay a reliable foundation for higher education. This is the crucial way in which higher education can support general education.

Education must serve the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and a socialist education system can be gradually established and perfected only in the process of formation of socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is a long-term process of practice--cognition--practice, which involves continuous reform and adaptation. At present, we cannot very comprehensively and perfectly envisage this system. However, if we adhere to our party's correct ideological line, widen our horizon, and continue to sum up experience, then we can certainly accomplish this historical task and make due contributions to our country's economic invigoration and social development.

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DO A GOOD JOB OF INTEGRATING STATE MONOPOLY AND DECENTRALIZED MANAGEMENT  
AND IMPROVE THE SYSTEM OF CONTRACTED RESPONSIBILITIES WITH PAYMENT LINKED  
TO OUTPUT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 84 pp 25-26

[Article by Jing Ping [2529 1627]]

[Text] At the present stage, the number of peasant households that are implementing the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output already makes up more than 90 percent of all households. Facts show that this method of integrating state monopoly with decentralized management is in a position to display the advantages of the collective economy and the initiative of individual peasants and is in line with the level of productive forces in rural areas in China, as well as the desire of the hundreds of millions of peasants. Therefore, this method has strong vitality and has displayed a tremendous role in vigorously developing the economy in rural areas.

But we must also understand that many places have implemented the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output only a short time ago. Some newly formed concrete systems have yet to be perfected, some policies and measures have not been implemented in an overall way, some weak links still exist in the places that have implemented the system even earlier, and a number of new situations and new problems have cropped up in the process of implementing this system. Therefore, it is imperative for us to sum up experiences and take the necessary measures so as to resolve these problems in time.

CPC Central Committee Document No 1 of 1984 clearly stipulates that stabilizing and perfecting the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output is the number one priority in rural work this year. Party committees, government, and departments concerned at all levels must act in accordance with the spirit of this Central Committee directive and perform this task with enthusiasm and initiative, in keeping with the excellent situation in rural development.

Enormous complicated work has to be done before we are able to stabilize and improve the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output. These works include perfecting responsibility contracts,

handling the relations between state monopoly and decentralized management well, doing a good job of readjusting and transferring contracted land, prolonging the period of contracting land, doing a good job of circulating and developing commodity production, doing a good job of preproduction and postproduction services, strengthening the popularization and utilization of science and technology, restructuring the financial work of people's communes and production teams, improving management, and improving economic effect. China has vast rural areas, with various places having very different situations and problems. Therefore, the work that has to be perfected first is also different and it is improper to make the same demand on different places. At the present stage, the key questions to stabilize and perfect the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output are that we must proceed from specific conditions and correctly handle the relations between state monopoly and decentralized management.

A feature of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output is integration between state monopoly and decentralized management, with monopoly management and decentralized management being carried out where they are considered most proper. The so-called monopoly here means that the production construction and service items that are suitable for collective management must be put under collective management; certain production links and production facilities and state production plans and monopoly purchasing tasks must be organized, arranged, and managed by the collective. Decentralization means that such aspects as the production and service items, certain links of production process, and the related means of production that are more suitable for scattered management must all be contracted to individuals or households for their management. In this way, through centralization, the state will be able to strengthen its planned guidance over production by peasants so as to guarantee that state monopoly purchasing tasks will be fulfilled; in this way, we will also be able to display the roles of the materialistic and technical foundation of the collective economy so as to guarantee that the collective economy will be further consolidated and will grow. Through decentralization, those who have contracted for responsibilities will be aware of their responsibility, rights, and interest, and consequently this method will enable peasants to display their individual initiative and creativity to constitute an internal motive force for the development of collective economy. The centralization we mention today is different from the past "centralized labor and centralized management" that resulted in hindering the initiative of peasants. The centralization today has been introduced to accord with the development of production in rural areas and in particular to meet the needs in the development of commodity production and consequently to provide the necessary service for the scattered management of peasant households and solve the problems that cannot be solved by individual households. For example, it is not necessary for every household to buy a tractor and a water pump for plowing and irrigating land; nor is it necessary for every household to nurse fine seedlings because they want to plant such seedlings. In this regard, it is imperative for the cooperative economy to provide effective services to peasant households. Such services are carried out under unified management. In addition, specialized households have made rapid development and consequently rural areas in China are now in the

process of changing from self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient production to commodity production. The peasant households that are engaged in commodity production represent a link of the process of social reproduction, and these households can in no way depart from social services, including the services of cooperative economy. To provide preproduction and post-production services to peasant households to meet the above-mentioned objective needs in fact also represents a kind of unified management. In order to do a good job in monopoly or unified management, it is imperative to mainly rely on economic means, with the main key providing services to peasant households. Service items can be undertaken by the collective, specialized households or newly formed united organizations. In this way and through various services, we will be able to link the production by scattered peasant households with state planning. Therefore, it can be seen that the method of decentralization in no way means individual farming; it is aimed at overcoming a "mass" in labor organization and equalitarianism in distribution. The method of centralized management is not aimed at returning to "massive action" but to enable the collective economy to display its advantages and solve the problems that cannot be solved in the production by peasant households and individuals.

Now the question is that a number of places have put greater weight on decentralization and do not pay enough attention to centralization. They did not centralize the matters that should have been centralized, or the centralization was carried out less than needed; some other places have emphasized centralization and did not pay enough attention to decentralization, resulting in rigid centralization, while the matters that should be decentralized were not decentralized. The former case has prevented the collective to display its advantages while the latter has affected the initiative of peasant households and individuals. In fact, centralization and decentralization represent the dialectical relations of the unity of opposites. These two aspects coexist and condition each other, and frequently centralization contains decentralization and decentralization also contains centralization. What links should be centralized or decentralized is determined by the level of productive forces in various places. The general principle in this aspect is that when centralized management is carried out, it must in no way affect the initiative and creativity of peasant households and individuals, while when decentralized management is carried out, it must not prevent the collective economy from displaying its advantages. That is, the combination of centralization with decentralization should be in the interest of further consolidating and perfecting the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output.

Some comrades believe that decentralization is in a position to only mobilize the initiative of peasant households and individuals, while centralization is able to display the advantages of collective economy. Therefore, they said that the more the centralization, the more perfect will be the responsibility system. Therefore, disregarding specific conditions and the desires of peasants, they have forcibly implemented "several items of centralization." This move has not only affected the initiative of peasant households and individuals but also has affected the advantages of the

collective economy, because with such centralizations, there is no way for coordination within the collective to show its advantages. Therefore, such a move must be prevented. Some other comrades said that it is too early to talk about centralization because decentralization of management has just begun. According to them, if we talk too much about centralization, it will be easy to return to the old road of rigid centralized management. Therefore, we accordingly cannot actively support the centralization that is urgently required by the masses. Some units have even sold off the fixed property that can be centralizedly used and managed by the collective, and some big farm machinery and water conservancy facilities have laid idle because there is no unified management or they cannot be fully used. These situations have spoiled the interest of collective economy and individuals and they must be halted.

We cannot oppose centralization as "everybody eating from the same big pot" without first analyzing it. Household management is only a layer of the cooperative economy, because in addition to this management, there is another layer of unified management. We have corrected the past mistake of relying solely on unified management and prohibiting scattered management and fully affirmed the initiative of scattered management by peasant households. But this move in no way means that we have totally denied the necessity and roles of unified management. If we do not carry out unified management when it is imperative to do so, we cannot fully display the roles of the collective means of production and labor accumulation that have been formed since agricultural cooperation began. In this way, there will be no way for collective economy to consolidate and develop. As a result, we will lose the foundation for the initiative of peasant individuals and the initiative that has been mobilized also cannot last long. Therefore, we must do a good job of integrating centralization and decentralization. Both centralization and decentralization can only be carried out on the basis of specific conditions and the desire of the broad masses of people. The criterion for doing it is whether centralization or decentralization is in the interest of promoting production and improving the life of peasants. In handling these questions, we cannot resort to administrative order and force peasants to do whatever we consider necessary; nor can we give up our management and let things drift. We must carry out our work in a down-to-earth way and gradually create and accumulate experiences so that the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output can be gradually perfected.

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SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING IMPROVEMENTS TO THE OUTPUT-RELATED SYSTEM OF  
CONTRACTED RESPONSIBILITY ON THE HOUSEHOLD BASIS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 84 pp 27-33

[Article by Lu Rizhou [0712 2480 0719] and Du Chuangye [2629 0482 2814]]

[Text] Recently we went to villages in Shanxi to carry out investigations. With the universal implementation of the output-related system of contracted responsibility on the household basis, enormous changes have taken place in all the rural areas, where self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient economies are now in the process of being quickly transformed into commodity economies. Today, one thing which concerns people is how to ensure that the output-related system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis is perfected so that the generally good trends in the rural areas can be further developed. This article intends to deal with some questions related to this area.

An Important Characteristic of the Output-Related System of Contracted  
Responsibilities Is the Integration of Unity and Decentralization

Some people believe that the output-related system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis represents decentralized and individual farming but this does not tally with objective reality. In actual fact the core of this kind of responsibility system is the organic integration of centralized and unified management with decentralized household management, on the premise of upholding the socialist system of collective ownership, with expression being given to the role of each individual and a mutual making up of others' shortcomings, and this has led to the establishment of a two-tier management structure in the rural areas, thus perfecting collective economic relations.

The arrival at this style of management which integrates unity and decentralization after a long period of suffering and tortuous probing by the mass of peasants, corresponds with the outstanding features of China's present-day agriculture. It attends to the backwardness of the agricultural productive forces in China while not restricting the role of the already created socialized productive forces. It has satisfied the requirements of agriculture that it be a process of natural reproduction which requires policies which change when necessary and are independent,

but does not negate the important trait of socialist agriculture, namely that it develop in a planned way. Furthermore it both permits ample scope for the collective economy which has developed through so many years and mobilizes the enthusiasm of hundreds of thousands of households to develop production. For these reasons the output-related system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis will, within a few years, ensure that China's agriculture enters a golden era of enormous development.

Judging from the present situation in the rural areas, collective and unified management and decentralized management, linked by the contract system are interlinked and the relationship between the two is becoming increasingly close and indivisible. Let us take an example, namely land contracts which are given to households for management. This is decentralized management but at the same time it embodies the requirements of unified management that such questions as how divisions are made, and who should manage what, and questions concerning profit retention, are all decided by the collective. When the households are arranging planting production they must submit to the unified rules of the collective and the various links in planting production must also depend on the unified services of the collective--for example unified management and use of water, unified breeding of good plant varieties, unified tilling and planting, and unified supplies of fertilizers, and so on. On the other hand, when the collective provides these services under its unified organization it can by means of contracts make use of decentralized management to improve the quality of services and increase economic results. Many places in Shanxi for example have developed groups of households specialized in water irrigation, tilling and planting, seed breeding, and various services. This then is decentralized in the sense that each household is involved in management, and it is unified in the sense that households are contracted to provide services for everyone and for seed planting and breeding. Production practice has meant that the peasants have gained an increased understanding of the importance of collective and unified management and have become more and more conscious of upholding the principle of integrated unified and decentralized management, understanding what should be unified and what should be decentralized. This is the mainstream of the development of the rural system of contract responsibility.

Integration of unity and decentralization is an important principle in the continuing rural reforms. As the division of labor develops and production becomes increasingly socialized, major changes will take place in the form and content of unified management and household management and integration between the two will become increasingly rational. Perfecting the household-based contract responsibility system requires meeting the demands of production development, constantly understanding new situations, discovering new problems, solving new contradictions and promoting the two-tier management system with integration of unity and decentralization as well as promoting the needs for specialization, socialization, and modernization so that the system extends beyond the sphere of land contracts for households and may be employed in other areas of the rural economy.



## Decentralized Management Should Become Increasingly Integrated With the Development of the Division of Labor and the Division of Jobs

When many areas began to implement the household-based contract responsibility system linked to output, decentralized management adopted the methods of contracting land on an equal basis for a variety of reasons. The advantage of this was that the workers' rewards were closely linked to their work and this mobilized the peasants' work enthusiasm but as far as the division of labor and specialization were concerned, no major changes occurred. With the comprehensive development of the rural economy, it was necessary to perfect the decentralized operation, and there emerged a new trend of decentralized management developing into division of labor and division of trades. This development resulted in the household economy breaking out of the fetters of a natural economy and moving toward commodity production, at the same time providing a material foundation for the perfection and consolidation of the two-tier management structure of the collective economy.

Household management is a very ancient form of management and before the cooperative transformation of agriculture, it always appeared in the form of household management in a small-scale peasant economy. It was a form of self-sufficient or semi-self-sufficient small-scale production which was at the same time linked to small-scale private ownership and backward manual operation. The most important trait of this kind of small production was its conservatism and isolation, with production depending solely on the individual for completion and most of the produce being for personal consumption, forming a self-cycle system based on the concept of "small but complete." This kind of household economy did not in general require unified coordination outside the household, nor unified services or anything similar, since its productive forces did not exceed the sphere that one household could manage.

After the development of specialized rural households, the ancient form of household management went on to include the division of labor and the division of trades and thus "small but complete" gradually moved toward "small but specialized." In the wake of this, while production was decentralized among different households and was carried out independently, in actual fact it was very closely linked up and it extended out of each of the households and developed toward socialization. It was this kind of link-up and extension that caused situations to arise in which separate households found it difficult to manage on their own and this produced an increasing need for collective and unified management. Hengshan production brigade in Dingxiang County, Shanxi, is an advanced unit famous throughout the province. In 1983, when they implemented the household-based system of contract responsibility with payment linked to output, they did not simply copy wholesale the methods of other areas, but, on the basis of the well-developed characteristics of the production brigade, they skipped the "small but complete" phase and went straight on to developing specialized households. In all, the entire production brigade set up 319 households specializing in commodity grain, 93 households specializing in industrial side-products, and 171 households specializing in self-management,

thus in total, specialized households made up around 60 percent of all households. On this basis the production brigade concentrated on strengthening collective unified management and established nine specialized service companies including some dealing with agricultural machinery, water irrigation, and so on, using economic means to carry out unified coordination, management, and services for household management. With the integration of household management and unified management, a socialized and highly efficient production management system was created. In 1983, grain output for the entire production brigade reached 16 million jin, of which 11 million was given to the state. The commodity rate for grain increased 10 percent over the preceding year while total revenue in all areas of business was up by 900,000 yuan over the preceding year, and per capita income reached as much as 700 yuan. Economic development and revenue increases in that 1 year were equal to the total of 3 years put together.

The practice of the Hengshan production brigade has greatly inspired others:

First, decentralized household management in agriculture does not have to return to or maintain small-scale production, rather it should move toward socialization. Having made use of the household-based contract responsibility system to solve problems of food and clothing and restore production, we should go even further and ensure that decentralized management develops in the direction of the division of labor and the division of jobs. Only in this way can decentralized management have a glorious and shining future. Naturally, the restrictions of various objective economic conditions mean that the development of specialized households will not be the same in every area and in some areas development will be quick while in others it may be slow. What is important is that we start out from reality and respect objective economic laws and do not carelessly go ahead too eager for quick results.

Second, as commodity production constantly develops as a result of rural specialized households, greater and greater demands will be put on the unified management of the collective and this will demand an even greater integration between unified management and decentralized management, thus producing a two-tier management structure on an even higher level. Its basic character is the constant refining and deepening of the division of labor as well as extensive coordination and comprehensive specialized and socialized services. Not only will this ensure that the advanced social productive forces built up over the last 30 years will gain expression, it also means that new paths will be opened up for the development of even more advanced productive forces. All of this forms the basis for saying that the household-based contract responsibility system is not a makeshift or expedient measure and that the two-tier management structure has wide applicability and a lively future.

Third, in the development of rural specialized households, commodity grain specialized households have a particularly special significance. In general, the very earliest specialized households in the rural areas were concentrated around plant breeding and growing, processing, and other

production areas. However, when rural specialization develops to a specific extent it has to consider the question of developing commodity grain specialized households. This is not only because the extent of specialization of grain production is an important indicator of the extent of specialization in the rural economy but also because, after the emergence of commodity grain specialized households, there is a great incentive for development of specialized households under diversified management. The future development of rural specialization will manifest itself as two forms of specialization which encourage each other and develop together.

#### There Is Great Scope for the Use of Unified Management

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPS Central Committee, the household-based contract responsibility system was implemented in China's agriculture and the emphasis has been on changing former management styles which were too extreme and too centralized and establishing the tier of decentralized management. But this does not mean that unified management has nothing more to do. In fact, as household management has been establishing and consolidating itself over the last few years and as decentralized management has been constantly moving toward the division of labor and the division of jobs, the question of rural "unity" has become increasingly important and evident in some areas with fairly fast economic development. What does unified management actually include? Judging from the experiences of some areas, this word unity can be understood in three main areas.

First, general control over the development of the collective economy and coordination of decentralized household management. Two-tier management is the style of management of the collective economy and the collective is the mainstay of management and, on the basis of the demands of state planning, the strength of the collective economy, the state of natural resources, and development needs, it organizes, considers, arranges and wields comprehensive control of all links in the collective economy such as production, circulation, and distribution. First, by means of contracts the collective must take differing decentralized labor and unify it into a portion of unified labor in order to make use of it and ensure that in all production areas rational proportions are maintained in labor. This guarantees the overall development of the rural economy and the expression of each person's good points, in particular giving full rein to the role of complex labor, thereby ensuring the most rational integration of the means of production and the laborers. Second, the collective must also distribute the fruits of labor on the basis of the principle of equal consideration of the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual. This includes: After making necessary deductions, embodying the principle of distribution according to labor with more for more work; drawing up different standards for profit retention, balancing the income between various jobs and ensuring that commune members may contentedly carry out their contracted production tasks, in particular ensuring enthusiasm for carrying out planting production, adjusting material distribution, such as the responsibility of the grain specialized households to provide fodder and other specialized grain rations for the plant raising specialized

households, thereby creating conditions for consolidating and improving the division of labor within the collective economy.

The more that production is specialized and socialized, the more it requires the unified coordination and control of the collective so as to avoid unnecessary conflicts and blind production and, at the same time, strengthen the planned nature of production. This is an important manifestation of the essential economic nature of the system of collective ownership, and it is the fundamental difference between decentralized management and the individual economy. With unity in this area, the collective is able to grasp the driving power behind economic development and in one sense it has grasped the setting up of all production management items as well as the relations between all decentralized managers, while in another sense it has grasped the direction of development of the collective economy. Decentralized household management can only express its own driving power and initiative under the overall control of the collective.

Second, the provision of various production services for decentralized household management and the promotion of rural division of labor and division of jobs. As commodity production develops, the technological knowledge required in the entire production process becomes increasingly complex and the extent of technological installations and equipment in agriculture becomes increasingly high, while demands on product quality become stricter and thus household management comes to depend increasingly on socialized services and this is self-evident. What is worth examining now is how to make unified services even better. In a small number of areas a kind of free service system is being implemented, such as free tractor plowing and free provision of fertilizers and so on in the belief that this is an important manifestation of the outstanding nature of the collective economy. In fact this is not so. Using the accumulation of the collective to provide free services does in fact erode and weaken the economic strength of the collective and thus the capabilities of unified management become smaller and smaller. At the same time, it is also a kind of service which ignores accounting and results thus very easily creating wastage and new instances of "one cut of the knife." In some places, if commune members temporarily lack the money to pay service fees, they may, in order not to affect production, firstly get the collective to pay for them and then gradually repay the collective. On the basis of repayable services we should investigate the organizational style of services. Some large production brigades have carried out tests of methods involving specialized service companies, have improved the quality of services, and have also been able to promote the division of labor--practice has proved that the results are very good. In some areas where it is not suitable to establish service companies, it is possible to adopt methods of both unity and decentralization and in this case, specialized households are used to carry out unified services, such as fertilizer specialized households, water irrigation specialized households, and so on. In general then unified services should move toward commodity management and specialized services and all efforts should be made to improve the quality of services and to strive for economic results. Only in this way can unified services prove their outstanding character, remain viable, and continue to expand.

Third, utilization of collective accumulation and the constant opening up of new production outlets, carrying out capital construction and increasing the strength of the collective economy. Under the two-tier management system we must not only consider short-term economic development, we also have to consider long-term economic development. Not only must we solve the problem of microscopic results, we must also solve the problem of macroscopic results. Not only must we attend to the direct, present-day, and partial interests of the workers, we must also consider the fundamental, long-term, and overall interests of the workers. Hence, when the collective is coordinating and providing services for the day-to-day production of the households, its targets and aims must be long-term ones and it must make use of its accumulation and its material sources and manpower to open up some new production roads and carry out some new capital construction, like, for example, the construction of advanced fodder processing plants, the establishment of trade warehouses, water irrigation construction work, electrical generating construction, land construction, and road construction. When these areas of construction have been successfully arranged, the conditions for agricultural production may be radically improved and this will ensure the momentum of these last few years of agricultural development is maintained and that the collective will be able to expand its sphere of management and the fixed assets of the collective will increase fairly quickly.

We can see from the above-outlined three implications of the phrase "collective unified management" that in view of the constant move toward a large-scale commodity economy from a self-sufficient economy, there is a great deal to be written about unified management. In the future, as production develops, we must ensure that the overall control of the collective over the production process becomes more scientific and more rational and in every area we must start out from reality and gradually form a set of pre- and post-production services so that the collective really does become a center for control, adjustments, and service for rural economic development after the implementation of the household-based contract responsibility system.

#### Constantly Develop and Enlarge the Collective Economy

Judging from the present situation in the rural economy, since the implementation of the household-based contract responsibility system, the development of the household economy has speeded up and the strength of the commune member household economy has been increasing while in some cases things have even developed to a stage where there have been purchases of, and utilization of large-scale tractors. In another sense, the development of the collective economy does still contain some questions which require serious attention. In some advanced production brigades in which the strength of the collective is quite powerful, there has been a slowing down and even stagnation of the development of collective economy since the implementation of the household-based contract responsibility system. In the last 2 years, some backward production brigades which do not have industrial side-product enterprises have only organized consumption and welfare and have not increased any new fixed assets and hence there has

been a serious weakening of the collective economy. Therefore, some people draw the conclusion that at the moment, the development of the collective economy is something which would be nice to do, but which cannot be done, and that simply being about to keep one's family property is pretty good. This is an erroneous conclusion to draw.

The development of the collective economy is based on the development of production. In Chinese agriculture we are carrying out decentralized household management and practice is proving that this can promote large-scale increases in agricultural production. When production develops, while the individual receives more, the collective may also accumulate more. If we do not simply use this accumulation to subsidize household management (as far as contract profit retention is concerned, direct production investments are returned to the household for distribution and the accumulation of the collective is only a portion of the accumulation of all production and is used for the unified management of the collective) and if we do not tie it up as deposits or use it in nonproduction type consumption, but instead, we actively and positively think of ways of making use of it, make use of limited profit translation, and open up and develop as many new production projects as possible, then afterwards we can once again undertake management with contracts. In this way profit retention will increase year by year and so too will fixed assets, while the sphere of management will also expand every year. This is what we call the expanded contract responsibility system.

Expanded contracts are a special form of expanded reproduction in the collective economy which practices the contract responsibility system and there are two ways in which it works. One way is mainly to perfect contract responsibility systems that have already been established. When this work is complete, the production capability of the originally contracted item will be further expanded and the collective will gain even more profit for retention from the expanded scale of production. The other way is to make use of existing collective profit for retention to open up new spheres of production and establish new contract responsibility systems.

This new kind of contract responsibility system can have a variety of different forms. The implementation of developmental contracts is an important aspect of expanding new contracts. Land contracts represent a breach in the agricultural responsibility system following which contracts spread quickly to the existing production areas of the collective. What direction should be taken now? The targets are those areas which previously have not had practical productive forces, such as waste mountain areas, barren hillsides, alkaline sands and so on. Thus, as far as Shanxi is concerned, there are enormous numbers of developmental areas available. If contracts can be used to change these potentially productive areas into real productive areas, then the collective economy will be able to develop onto a new plane. As far as alkaline sands are concerned, Shanxi has a total of more than 1 million mu of alkaline sands and for many years they have been unusable. In recent years, some regions have run trial tests on contract control of the land, in Pingyao, Dingxiang, and Datong Counties where the income for 1 mu of alkaline sands reaches nearly 1,000 yuan and many commodity grain



specialized households, small household farms, and breeding farms have extended out of these kinds of contracts. Household contracts for controlling small areas of wasteland represent another important potential undertaking. For many years, artificial and natural factors have meant that the collective economy has shrunk from a large number of production spheres and has been confined to a small number of grain fields. The implementation of developmental contracts will allow the collective economy to express its vitality in new areas of production and this will be of benefit to the state, the collective, and the individual.

At the same time, the collective's utilization of unified management can also produce new contract items in the process of development of the rural economy. This then is the main channel for expansion in the development of the collective economy. For example, when there are many specialized households raising chickens, the collective can run fodder processing plants which will promote further development of the chicken raising industry and with more chickens the collective can then run meat and egg processing plants. The Shanxi peasants have an example of this expansion of the collective economy by means of household contracts and this use of unified management to promote relations in household economic development, and they call it "the collective builds the stage and the peasants sing the opera." Practice proves that for the collective to simply build the stage and the peasants to sing the opera is not a good way of mobilizing the enthusiasm and creativity of the individual. For the individual alone to build the stage and sing the opera is also not satisfactory, for the stage will be small and, thus, he or she may only sing a small opera. In developing the rural economy, we must develop the state, the collective, and the individual together, and most importantly, we must simultaneously give expression to the initiative of the state and the collective.

The stage serves as a location for producing operas, and it is important to look at the requirements of any specific opera before one can build a stage. Today, the rural economy has been enlivened and one is dazzled by the amount of activity and coming and going. But if one looks carefully, one can see the following kind of trend: The development direction of the rural economy is in transition toward a commodity economy. Hence, all comrades involved in rural work should have an ideology which reflects concepts of the commodity economy and specialized production. First of all, the development of the collective economy must make use of the law of value; thus, there should be no free coordination or giving to the peasants. Second, the development of the collective economy must correspond with the demands of specialization, and coordination is required in the specialized division of labor, and as far as social relations are concerned, we must use our heads and seek ways of doing things. Third, the development of the collective economy requires a market concept, and we should not let small things block our view of larger things, only seeing the very narrow area of our own needs and requirements, thereby spinning round and round within the circle of our own self-sufficient "disregard for others." Only in this way can we build a stage for the countryside, for the people, and for the "able people" and also open up production programs with a positive future for the collective economy.



The construction of a stage requires definite material and financial resources, but this does not imply that only economically developed areas can do so. The Dongzhoubi production brigade in Hongdong County, Shanxi was previously well known for its backwardness. Since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, this production brigade has taken advantage of the superior management of household contracts and has paid attention to developing the collective economy; it has consistently invested in the construction of a fodder processing plant, fields of high quality mulberries, and so on, and the fixed assets of the collective have increased from 40,000 yuan before 1978 to 300,000 yuan. Facts prove that while backward brigades may lack conditions for developing the collective economy, they are in no way unable to develop it. As long as they work hard, have clear objectives, are good at making use of contracts, and steer a collective course, then their collective economy will move from being weak to strong, from small to big, from slow to fast, constantly enlarging and expanding. On the other hand, after an advanced production brigade has implemented the household-based contract responsibility system, if it only retains profit and does not put anything in, and if it only consumes and does not accumulate, then no matter how long it waits, development of the collective economy will not come.

#### Link Up Self-Managed Specialized Households Into the Sphere of the Collective Economy

Over the last 2 years, there has been very fast development of self-managed specialized households in the rural areas. The vast majority of them are based in household by-product industries. The scale ranges from small to large, while the extent of specialization ranges from low to high, and together they make up the first portion of peasants in the countryside to get rich. These self-managed specialized households belong to the collective economy, as far as their essential nature is concerned, but they are different from the individual economies prior to the formation of cooperatives; instead, they represent a form of socialized economy, a kind of individual economy intimately linked with the collective economy.

We should actively support and help the development of these self-managed specialized households in the rural areas. One portion of the peasants make use of their own technology, funds, and work force and seek their own ways, departing from land management. What they are doing is not only making themselves rich; they are also transforming the contract economy toward specialized management with land as its focal point, and this is of benefit in improving and perfecting the integration of unity and decentralization on the basis of specialized production. The variety of inaccurate concepts adopted in understanding the development of self-managed specialized households does not help or support this newborn thing; on the contrary, it only adds to problems, makes things worrisome, casts doubt on it, and even causes restrictions so that, in the end, it not only stifles the development of self-managed specialized households, but it also influences the progress of the entire rural economy.

Helping the development of the self-managed specialized households does not mean "feeding the cream of the cream" and making over the collective economy without charge, placing it into the hands of the self-managed economy. This would only benefit a small number of people and damage the interests of the majority, and it would only be in the interests of self-managed specialized households and would harm the interests of the contract households. The help and support of which we talk is mainly directed at the areas of production and circulation, and the collective must make use of its own unified management and provide various pre- and post-production services for the self-managed specialized households. At the same time, the collective economy should also make use of the development of self-managed specialized households to expand its own unified management. Take, for example, the cultivation of mushrooms. The collective can organize spore-raising and technological service centers, and the specialized households may be responsible for cultivation management, but these households may save on a great deal of equipment and investments, thereby helping the propagation and improvement in cultivation quality over large areas. As far as specialized households raising cattle and sheep are concerned, the collective can set up milk powder processing plants, offering to be responsible for processing and sales if the households guarantee the provision of the milk raw materials. On the basis of commodity relations involving mutual interest and mutual benefit, there is a very wide number of areas in which the collective may provide the self-managed specialized households with various services. As a result of these services, with plants, companies, or service centers linked up to the specialized households, the production and management capacity of the households can be expanded and the collective may, through these services, provide guidance so that the self-managed specialized households live up even more suitably to the requirements of agricultural modernization.

As the division of labor and coordination between the self-managed specialized households and the collective economy become increasingly close, contract households and self-managed households can also implement economic link-ups to varying extents, and this will be an important facet of the development of the new cooperative economy in the countryside. Because the previously existing accumulation of the collective cooperative economy will act as a support, this link-up will be even easier to organize and manage than the link-up with specialized households, and it will also be firmer and more secure. Thus, we should not intentionally eradicate independent household economies and force them to become collective economies. On the other hand, when it is possible to organize link-ups and guidance for self-managed specialized households, we should not slacken in our hard work.

Some areas stipulate that self-managed specialized households should hand over a certain amount of "profits for retention" every year to the collective, on the basis of their scale of management. The "profits for retention" used here is being used in another sense, because self-management is not a contract, and thus the question of unified profits for retention does not exist. However, if this money is to be taken, it must be done in rational amounts and should not be regarded as the seizure of one kind of

economy by another kind of economy. Its basis is: First, administrative expenditure of grassroots administrative organizations is borne jointly by the economic organizations of administrative divisions. Second, for many years now and for a variety of reasons, common welfare and other common undertakings in the rural areas have all been organized and carried out by the collective economy. In the last 2 years, other economic components have been constantly growing, but this situation has remained the same. Schooling, hospitals, and clinics, the system of the five guarantees, cultural construction, and so on have all been enjoyed by everyone and it has been the collective that has paid out the money, only taking profits for retention from contract households. This has created an enormous burden for one sector of commune members; indeed, in some cases, collectives have been unable to make ends meet. This situation is irrational. Third, the arena of activities and the various basic facilities and pieces of equipment in this arena being used in the management activities of the self-managed specialized households all belong to the collective. A natural resources fee should be paid for used-up grass slopes and land. A certain amount of fees should also be paid for erecting and maintaining power lines, developing water resources, and building roads and buildings.

In conclusion, relations between self-managed specialized households, this new style of household economy, and the collective economy should be strengthened, regardless of whether we look at the situation from the point of view of the development of the self-managed specialized households themselves or from the point of view of the coordinated and planned development of the entire rural economy. In addition, the collective economy should be correctly placed in its central position within rural development. Each area has its own different situations; thus, we cannot summarize that concrete methods should be used. We must continue to research and probe on the basis of assessing the experiences of the masses. It should be said that this kind of probing is a new kind of probing to further develop the rural economy; we do not want to repeat former "leftist" errors. We must, without fail, respect the ownership and independent rights of the rural self-managed specialized households, and we must oppose anything which may harm the legal rights and interests of the self-managed specialized households. This is a fundamental principle for the development of the rural cooperative economy.

CSO: 4004/67

## LENIN AND LETTERS FROM THE MASSES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 84 p 33

[Article by Xing Yan [6717 1484]; passages within slantlines published with underlining]

[Text] In the period just after the victory of the October Revolution, economic conditions in the Soviet Union were extremely grave. Particularly distressing were the food problem and the bitter living conditions of the peasantry. Lenin considered "The Village Poor" [Pin Nong Bao 6302 6593 1032], a publication specially devoted to peasant issues, to be "the barometer of the peasantry." Each time he met with the journal's editor, V. A. Karpinskiy, Lenin received a detailed description of the contents of peasants' letters to the journal, their needs and opinions, and particularly their morale.

At the time, "The Village Poor" received many letters from the masses which expressed some peasants' dissatisfaction with the Soviet Government's system of collecting surplus grain. The editorial department selected a portion of these letters and gave them to Lenin, in whose hands they played an important role. The problems raised in these letters were reflected in Lenin's report to the 10th party congress on substituting a grain tax for the surplus grain collection system. After this Lenin asked for periodic reports from "The Village Poor" based upon the correspondence from the peasants. In a letter to Karpinskiy in January 1922, Lenin asked:

"How many letters has 'The Village Poor' received from the peasantry?

"What important (especially important) and new matters do these letters contain?

"What is the mood of the peasantry?

"What are their most pressing concerns?

"Can you write /one/ representative letter and send it to me /every other month/ (the next one should be 15 March 1922)?"

Lenin often said to his comrades: "To be good at getting close to the masses, one must study them." By thus giving attention to the peasants' letters, Lenin himself studied the masses, came to an understanding of their views and needs, and seriously elicited reasonable suggestions from them.

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CAN THE CAPITALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AUTOMATICALLY DEVELOP WHAT IS  
USEFUL AND DISCARD WHAT IS NOT?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 84 pp 34-38

[Article by Qian Zhongqi [6929 1350 6386]]

[Text] Great changes have taken place in international political and economic situations since World War II, while contemporary capitalism has been coupled with the emergence of new situations and features. Therefore, it is utterly important for us, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, to analyze and study these situations and features regarding what they are, and then make scientific theoretical summary of it. But in the past few years, some comrades have not done so on the grounds that "new phenomena" have emerged in the capitalist world, and consequently they put forth the theory that "the capitalist relations of production can develop what is useful and discard what is not." I think this view is wrong.

I

In Volume 3 of "Das Kapital," when Marx was analyzing the emergence of joint-stock companies and cooperative factories, he dealt with the question of "the development and discarding of the relations of capitalist production." How should we understand this thesis?

Marx believed that the emergence of joint-stock companies would be followed by the emergence of certain new features in capitalist relations. First, capital will be considerably concentrated to "have greatly expanded the scale of production"; second, the form of social capital has been formed directly and the joint-stock companies that are concentrated in the hands of collective capitalists (no matter whether this collective is big or small, it is a direct integration of private capital) are "contradictory to private enterprises" because these companies want to annex the latter; third, functional capital has become totally divorced from the ownership of this capital. Functional capitalists are mostly represented by managers who are not in a position to handle at will the capital of the companies. Marx summarized these three points and said that these situations "represent the development and discarding of the capitalist mode of production within the range of this mode itself and consequently there is a contradiction

between self-development and self-discarding. This contradiction is first shown in purely transitional change toward a new production form." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, pp 493, 495-496)

What did Marx really mean by "development and discarding"? I believe what he meant was the development and discarding of capitalist private industry. This is because joint-stock companies are representing a new form of capitalist production and compared with the original private companies, the former have experienced a certain substantial change. The emergence of these companies have separated the right to use capital from the right to own this capital. Unlike private capital, share capital is not at the disposal of individual capitalists to display the function of this capital in increasing its value; share capital can only be used by capitalists as a collective. Consequently, certain capitalists will purely become profit earners or "new parasites." (Ibid., p 496) And by entrusting the representatives--managers of collective capitalists--with the powers of managing enterprises, these profit earners have given capitalists "the powers to absolutely control the capital, property, and labor of others within a certain range." (Ibid.) In this way, through concentrated capital, the individual capitalist industry is turned into the collective capitalist industry. Therefore, the share system represents "the development and discarding of the individual capitalist industry on the basis of the capitalist system itself." (Ibid.) Consequently, a form of private capital has been turned into a form of social capital. This change constituted certain material conditions (such as socialized mass production and the organized ranks of the working class) and spiritual conditions (such as experiences in the management of mass production) for capitalist enterprises with private ownership to change in the future to the socialist enterprises with public ownership. To view it from this point, it can be said that this change represents a "transitional point" for the change of capital into public property. But the transitional point here only means that joint-stock companies are representing a preparation for the transition of capitalism to socialism and the point itself is not a socialist factor, although it still represents capitalist economy. That is why Marx said: "The change in shares is limited to within the range of capitalism." (Ibid., p 497) This is because this change still maintains the capitalist private ownership and the control and exploitation of the employed labor by capital; in joint-stock companies, "labor also has totally departed from the right of possessing the means of production and the right of possessing surplus labor" (ibid., p 494) while the contradictions between employees and employers and class contradictions have become more acute. Therefore, "this change has in no way overcome the antagonism between the nature of social wealth and the nature of private wealth." (Ibid., p 497) Nor has this change resolved the contradiction between socialization of production and capitalist private ownership which is the basic capitalist contradiction. That is, the change of private enterprises into joint-stock companies has taken place "within the range of the capitalist mode of production" and it has not departed from the relations of capitalist production. In this regard, this change has discarded a certain old nature of the "capital" but at the same time, maintained and developed a certain basic nature. Here, the "development and discarding" are spontaneous. That is, this change is



determined by the law of the movement of capitalist economy and represents "self-development and self-discarding." Therefore, the truth is not what was mentioned by some people, who said that following the emergence of joint-stock companies, the capitalist mode of production has begun to transit to the socialist mode of production and that the relations of capitalist production will automatically change into the socialist relations of production.

When Marx referred to workers' cooperative factories, he pointed out that the emergence of such factories "represents a breach of the old form with the old form." (Ibid., pp 497-498) This is because "the antagonism between capital and labor in such factories has been discarded" and therefore this situation can be "regarded as a transitional form in the change of the capitalist mode of production to the mode of united production." (Ibid., p 498) Marx spoke quite highly of such factories but his maximum means for valuing such factories is none other than "transitional form." That is, such cooperative factories themselves do not represent socialist economy. Consequently, Marx particularly pointed out that: "All defects of the existing system are reappearing and will naturally reappear everywhere in actual organization of these factories." (Ibid.) That is a fact. When workers are setting up cooperative factories in capitalist countries, they cannot but rely on a credit system to raise funds because they do not have enough funds. Consequently they will be subject to the control and influence of capitalist banks; they also have to form business contacts with industrial and commercial enterprises for raw materials and sales of their products, and as a result, they will be manipulated and controlled by capitalist enterprises and particularly monopoly enterprises. Although the antagonism between employers and employees no longer exists within such factories, these factories are still practicing a capitalist management method because of the infiltration of capitalist economy and corruption of bourgeois ideology. As a result, the nature of these factories is different from the nature of the cooperative enterprises under socialist conditions. Therefore, such cooperative factories still maintain the defects of the capitalist system. It is true that such cooperative factories may decrease the exploitation of workers, but they are encircled by a capitalist economy and consequently they are subject to plunder by capitalist enterprises, while their workers are still subject to exploitation by the bourgeoisie. These cooperative factories are also weak economically and subject to strong influence from outside; therefore, many of them are coordinating with big enterprises to carry out processing. Consequently, these factories cannot but be subordinated to capitalist economy. The "development and discarding" mentioned by Marx when he was analyzing cooperative factories do not reach the extent of "making a breach" and "becoming a transitional form." That is, Marx did not regard such factories as representing the change of the old nature of capitalist economy to the new nature of the socialist economy.

Therefore, it can be seen that Marx just expounded a certain and partial change of the capitalist economy. He did not and was not in a position to make a conclusion that the socialist relations of production have already emerged from the capitalist relations of production at that time.

## II

Does it really mean that the new phenomena that have emerged since World War II represented "the manifestation of self-development and self-discarding of the capitalist relations of production"? We cannot make this conclusion.

First, let us analyze this question from the viewpoint of the possession of property. State monopoly capitalism has made certain progress since the war, with state possession of social property in advanced capitalist countries reaching a certain proportion. But later, the development of state economy has tended to slow down while in some countries this economy has even decreased. In addition, economic development in various countries is not balanced. State enterprises in West European countries have a bigger proportion in the national economy while the proportion in the United States and Japan is very small. State-owned enterprises in Western Europe, the United States, and Japan do not have leading roles in the national economy. Most leaders of such enterprises are capitalists. In addition, these state enterprises are concentrated in such sectors as coal, railway, post and telecommunications, electric power, aviation, and military trades that are usually suffering losses instead of making profits. For example, taken as a whole, state enterprises in Britain are suffering losses every year. They lost 2.7 billion pounds sterling in 1975 and 2.1 billion pounds sterling in 1977. In fact, this situation means that capitalist state organs are helping private monopoly capitalists. That is, the setting up of capitalist state companies represents an important measure to guarantee that private monopoly capitalists will have stable profits and the delivery of cheap energy and power. Engels pointed out: "Neither the change into joint-stock companies nor the change into state property has been able to eliminate the nature of the capital of productive forces." Modern countries are "ideal general capitalists and the more productive forces they possess, the more they become true general capitalists, and the more the citizens will consequently be subject to exploitation... The capitalist relations have not been eliminated but instead, have been pushed to their utmost." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 318) These are the facts. These state enterprises belong to the state monopoly capitalist economy and this economy has in no way changed the nature of capitalism.

Many laborers in advanced countries now have become small shareholders. This is because it has become a common practice for joint-stock companies to issue enormous shares to raise capital or to issue enterprise shares among workers as bonuses as a move to raise capital. It was reported that in early 1981, more than 100 million people throughout the United States owned shares and most were small shareholders. For example, the holders of less than 100 shares in General Motors made up 78 percent of the total staff of this company in 1977. The situation is the same in Japan. For example, the share capital of Toshiba Electrical Company controlled by its staff make up only 1 percent of the total capital of this company. As the interest of enterprises is scattered, workers and other small shareholders can in no way affect the business of these enterprises, let alone

control their capital. Even if some workers become shareholders, they can in no way change the unequal possession of the wealth of capitalist society. According to British official investigations, 10 percent of the population above 18 years old possessed two-thirds of the total individual wealth in 1974, while the other 90 percent only possessed one-third. In 1979, the number of poor people in Britain was 12.4 million people, which was one-fifth of the total population. The poor families in the United States in 1976 made up 20 percent of the total population while their income made up only 5.4 percent of the national revenues. On the other hand, the rich families that made up 20 percent of the total population had incomes which made up 41 percent of the national revenues. In 1980, the number of people below the "poverty line" defined by the U.S. Government totaled 29.3 million people and together with other poor people, this number totaled more than one-fifth of the national population. The number of people holding 80 percent of the total shares issued across the country in this country made up only 1.6 percent of the total population. All these situations showed that the difference between the poor and the rich is very striking in capitalist society and that a polarization is developing.

The cooperative factories and cooperatives in capitalist countries have made no considerable progress since the 19th century because of the competition and squeezing from big capital and because of state limitation. For example, in Britain, where workers' cooperatives emerged earlier than other countries, the number of such cooperatives is only around 200 now. They are small in size and only 30 of them employ more than 25 workers. Therefore, it is apparent that these enterprises will in no way affect the capitalist relations in the possession of property.

Second, let us view it from the viewpoint of the mode of regulating production. It has become a common practice since the war that advanced countries have interfered with the economy through such measures as defining national economic plans or production plans of major products and implementing a series of measures in such areas as finance and credit. But these government plans serve only as a reference; they are not in a position to either control or directly manage capitalist enterprises. In addition, various countries are carrying out their economic plans to different degrees. Even such countries as France, Japan, and Italy, which have one after another worked out medium-term economic development plans, have failed to regulate their national economy through such plans, and consequently the situation of anarchic production still remains to be resolved. Such financial, credit and tax measures taken by these countries to curb inflation, freeze prices, increase taxes, and tighten financial expenditures or relax credit, expand budgetary expenditures, cut tax revenues, and increase investments can only regulate economy temporarily and partially, which will only bring about a temporary solution. That is why capitalist countries are subject to cycles of economic crises. Following the economic crisis in 1974-1975 that hit the whole capitalist world, the United States and Western European countries were again hit by an even longer economic crisis in 1979. The economy of some countries made a slight improvement last year but the prospects are in no way optimistic. The economy of the capitalist world has become "stagnant" for quite a long

period, coupled with occurrences of economic crises and inflation, surplus production, financial crises, and serious unemployment, while "anti-crisis" measures have failed one after another. The root of these problems is that the basic contradictions of capitalism are becoming more sharp and there is no way for capitalist countries to resolve these problems by influencing the economy.

Third, following the war, workers in some advanced countries have taken part in enterprise management. This method is used because of massive enterprise production, complicated technology, and the worsening relations between employees and employers. That is, the aim of letting workers take part in management is to mobilize their initiative and relax class contradictions. Workers' participation in management in no way touches upon the foundation of capitalist relations of production, nor does it threaten the basic interest of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, this management method has been acknowledged and allowed by the bourgeoisie and their state apparatus. In addition, this management method is also helpful in strengthening enterprise management, improving technology, developing production, and increasing profits. Consequently, this management method is applicable within a certain range. For example, a workers' suggestion system is of great benefit to enterprises. Toyota Vehicle Company of Japan received 400,000 suggestions from workers in 1976 and it spent 420 million yen (more than \$1 million) to award those making the suggestions, while the economic benefit of utilizing these suggestions is dozens of times higher than the awards. Another example is that there is also a system for workers' representatives to join the board of directors and supervise the management of enterprises; but these representatives are only in a secondary position. That is, they can in no way effectively influence the plans of the enterprises while capitalists are strengthening their control over workers through this system. Therefore, workers' participation in enterprise management can in no way change the relations of the controller and the controlled between capitalists and workers in enterprises. It in no way changes the relations between the exploiters and the exploited or infringe upon the management rights of capitalists and their representatives over enterprises.

Finally, let us look at consumer goods. As wages have increased in advanced countries after the war, workers' standards of living have consequently been improved and the range of their consumption (including recreation and travel) has been expanded, coupled with certain social insurance and welfare. Under this condition, can we say that workers' wages "have surpassed the limit that is defined by the value of labor force"?

The value of labor force should include the value of the means of subsistence and the value of leisure materials and development materials of the laborers. All these must develop following the development of productive forces and people's daily social life. As science and technology and productive forces constantly develop, people's needs and enjoyment have also constantly increased, both in quality and quantity. As a result, the value of the labor force has tended to increase with each passing day, although part of this value will be offset by decreases in the price of

consumer goods following improvement in productivity. The wage scale of workers in advanced countries is still subject to the regulation of the law of value. Workers' actual wages actually dropped during the economic crises after the war, and were restored and improved only when the economy recovered enough to enter a prosperous period.

The high rate of individual bank deposits and social insurance and welfare in advanced countries must also be analyzed. First we must understand that individual bank deposits include private deposits of capitalists, and this portion of deposits constitutes a greater part of deposits in general. Workers' deposits are mainly representing reserves for living expenses when they are jobless and additional expenses regarding age, health, or death. These individual workers' deposits mainly come from the savings of daily living expenses. Therefore, they cannot be used as a yardstick to measure the surplus in workers' normal living expenses. In addition, social insurance and welfare only represent the measures taken by the bourgeoisie to attain a stable quality of the commodity of labor force and to ease class contradictions. In fact, social insurance is a direct deduction of the wages of workers (for example, workers have to pay an insurance premium and insurance tax) while social welfare is also part of the value of workers' labor force that has taken the form of social payment. And in spite of social insurance and welfare, those who are jobless have found life difficult. Therefore, the wages of workers in capitalist countries are not in a position to break away from the limitation defined by the value of labor force.

It can be seen from the above analyses that although the relations of capitalist production in advanced capitalist countries have experienced some changes since the war, there is no substantial change. No matter whether they are joint-stock companies, state interference in economy, workers' participation in enterprise management, or social insurance and welfare, they can in no way change the relations of capital. Consequently it is groundless to say that a "new social factor" that has emerged in capitalist society is constantly emerging and developing.

### III

Marx pointed out that like other production relations in history, the relations of capitalist production have their own law of self-emergence, development, and elimination. As the basic contradictions of capitalism are becoming sharper, the relations of capitalist production are far from meeting the needs in the development of productive forces and have become a stumbling block for productive forces. "The monopoly of capital has become a shackle of the mode of production that has existed all along and prospered under this monopoly. The centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labor have reached a level which contradicts basic capitalism." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 831) In fact, certain representatives and theorists of the bourgeoisie have become aware of this. They have consequently resorted to reformism and implemented a number of policies and measures to improve the situation and have even made concessions to the proletariat in a bid to relax the contradictions and

prolong the existence of the capitalist system. But these policies and measures have in no way touched upon capitalist private ownership; they cannot resolve these contradictions and the situation in which the relations of capitalist production do not accord with productive forces will continue to exist and develop. Therefore, objectively and finally changing the relations of capitalist production, and the objective conditions (socialized mass production) and subjective conditions (the proletariat have grown to become grave diggers for the capitalist system) for this change are being prepared by the capitalist system itself. Engels said: "To change capitalist production that is seeking the interest of individuals or joint-stock companies into socialist production which is in the interest of all society and is carried out under predefined plans requires material and spiritual conditions that are being created by the capitalist society itself." (Ibid., Vol 22, p 279) Therefore, the elimination of the relations of capitalist production should be the result of the movement of the contradictions of capitalist mode of production. Like all natural processes, this elimination is necessary. In this sense, this is the "self-development and self-discarding" of the relations of capitalist production. But this result will not come by itself; it must be realized "through the process of the revolutionary change of society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 18) For the proletariat, the only way is to "deprive the exploiters" through revolution before they are able to form the relations of socialist production. This is determined by the law of the movement of contradictions between productive forces and production relations and between economic foundation and superstructure.

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## RAMBLING THOUGHTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 84 p 39

[Article by Jiao Yongfu [3542 0516 1133]]

[Text] There are always some people in the world who think themselves clever and are fond of finding negative things in our positive articles and of discovering abnormal things in normal things. By dint of their special judgment and imagination, they can fabricate at any time a diversity of seasonable "inside stories," and provide people with sensational hear-say news at will. I always hold that any of the so-called "inside stories" that are characterized by distorting and exaggerating facts, fabrication and mixing fabrication with facts in order to make fabrication pass for facts, are what a person with a discerning eye, knowledge, and experience regards as utterly incredible and as news that they should pay no attention to. The reason why I suddenly think about them is not because I attach any importance to them, but merely because I want to point out that in fabricating their "inside stories," they are only satisfied with copying the old methods of their ancestors without inventing any new methods and thus have rendered their fabrication devoid of interest. For example, some people have described our elimination of spiritual pollution as a "force 12 typhoon." They fabricated the stories of certain people being put under house arrest and certain people having lost their freedom and finally made up a fairy tale of internal struggle similar to that between the members of a big family in the old times. There seems to be something new in this, but in fact it was still a repeat of the old show that people are tired of watching.

I do not write this to refute any of their fabrication. This is not because I fear that it will involve endless debate and cause meaningless waste of the energy of myself and other people. The main reason is that I believe that facts are after all facts and lies will come to naught as soon as they are refuted by hard facts. I will again cite the example of the elimination of spiritual pollution. Our central leading comrades have time and again explained that the elimination of spiritual pollution is mainly aimed at opposing and criticizing the erroneous words and practice that depart from the Marxist and socialist orbits, and at removing the evil influence of the degenerate profit-before-everything mentality and of pornographic books and things on our party, our social life, and on our youngsters. This



entirely conforms with the regulations on the democratic rights of our people in our country's constitution and law and has been carried out in strict observance with them. Obviously, in doing this work, what we should solve is the problem related to the thoughts and understanding among our people; the method we should adopt is to correctly develop criticism and self-criticism, and what we should aim at is to overcome the erroneous words and practice and eliminate their evil impact. For us, this is like sweeping the dust away from our houses and washing off the dirt from our clothes and bodies. It is a very common and normal work. Whatever can we find in it to make much fuss about?

Now, Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article entitled "On Humanism and Alienation" has already been published. Any person whose attitude is a little objective cannot help but see that the writer takes part in this debate entirely with a comradely attitude and an attitude of regarding others as his equals. What his article expounds on is the theory of Marxist historical materialism and the feeling by which he moves people is an affection for his proletarian comrades and teachers and friends. He has really achieved the goal of citing facts, using arguments to persuade people, and sincere feeling to move people. In his article, he neither wields the big stick to attack people nor scares people by sticking labels on them, let alone spreading the murderous atmosphere and high-handed measures imagined by those who think themselves clever. This simple fact will not only remove the well-meaning worries of some friends but also dissolve the various kinds of doubts in the minds of some comrades who have a poor understanding of our policies and who have lingering fears. Moreover, it will smash the wanton rumors and quickly remove all the impact of the "inside stories," restore the ease of mind among our people and publicly disclose the embarrassment of those who think themselves clever. However, we should not assume that those who think themselves clever will feel ashamed, stop doing evil, and reform themselves. Perhaps some of them will manage to fabricate some newer and more fashionable rumors. Though this cannot help but make people who pursue progress sigh with regret, I should like to advise these good people not to become angry. From the above we can understand the reason why there have been endless generations of rumormongers and endless "inside stories." This realization should be regarded as a benefit for us.

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## IMPORTANT TEACHING MATERIAL FOR STUDYING HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 84 pp 40-41

["Short" commentary]

[Text] In his article "On Humanism and Alienation," Comrade Hu Qiaomu applied the basic principles of Marxism to China's socialist reality, profoundly expounded the antithesis between Marxist historical materialism and bourgeois humanism and historical idealism, explained why it is necessary to criticize bourgeois humanism and to give publicity to and advocate socialist humanism, and criticized the erroneous theory on the so-called "alienation" of socialism. It plays an important role in eliminating confusion in people's thinking on these questions over the past many years and is of important significance to eliminating spiritual pollution on the ideological front and promoting the healthy development of theoretical work. This article is an important teaching material for the cadres, intellectuals, and broad masses of youths and students on the ideological and cultural fronts in studying historical materialism. It should be taken as important material for cadres in their present theoretical study.

Historical materialism is an important cornerstone of Marxism. It is the theoretical basis and methodology for various social sciences and a sharp weapon for us in correctly observing history, understanding the law of social development, and studying and solving all kinds of social problems. Our party has always attached great importance to arming the party members and cadres with historical materialism. As all of us may remember, in the period soon after the founding of the state, our party carried out an extensive education in historical materialism among the people of the whole country and organized the broad masses of cadres to study the history of social development and criticize the viewpoints of historical idealism in the study of philosophy, history, and literature and art. This played a very good role in enhancing the theoretical level and political consciousness of the broad masses of cadres, establishing firm faith in socialism and communism, and drawing a clear line of demarcation between historical materialism and historical idealism in many fields, and greatly promoted the development of socialist sciences in our country. However, due to the influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology, the education in historical materialism was not correctly carried out later. Especially during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the basic principles of historical materialism

were seriously distorted by the "leftist" ideology and many historical idealist views were spreading unchecked, which brought about very bad consequences. Over the past few years, along with the implementation of the correct policy of opening to the outside world and promoting cultural exchanges with other countries, various Western academic and cultural ideas have also poured into our country, and some comrades have been affected by these ideas. In our theoretical circles, an ideological trend has appeared, which takes humanism as a world outlook and concept of history in explaining history and guiding present reality. It advocates to "supplement" Marxism with humanism or even sums up Marxism or part of Marxism as humanism. This is a distortion of Marxist historical materialism from the right. Just as Comrade Hu Qiaomu pointed out in his article, the core and essence of this debate is: What is the correct attitude toward the development of human history and the development of socialist society? What kind of world outlook and historical conception, Marxist historical materialism, or humanist historical idealism should we take as our ideological weapon in studying problems and guiding our actions? These questions concern whether we can adhere to the basic principles of Marxism and whether we can correctly understand the questions put forward by our socialist practice. So, they are of important practical political significance. Since some comrades know very little about the basic principles of historical materialism, or do not know how to apply them in practice, they have thus been affected by this ideological trend to varying degrees. There are also some comrades, who are fairly familiar with the basic principles of historical materialism in comparison with other people, but when the erroneous ideological trend appears, they also find it difficult to distinguish between right and wrong and to criticize the erroneous trend. This shows that it is necessary to carry out a concrete, vivid, and timely study and education in historical materialism among our party members and cadres, in combination with the study and discussion on Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article.

The best way to study Marxist historical materialism is to combine the study with the questions put forward by the current practice and the criticism of the erroneous viewpoints of historical idealism. The present debate on humanism and alienation on the ideological front provides us with a good subject in our cadres' theoretical study. With this subject, we can examine our achievements in studying historical materialism and see how we have mastered it. In other words, we can make a comparison between our own understanding and the correct answers to these questions in Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article, and learn in this way how to apply the stand, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism in analyzing and criticizing erroneous ideas and in replying to questions put forward by our practice and those existing in people's thinking. Thus, we will not only be able to master the general principles of historical materialism by combining our study with practice and gain a correct understanding of humanism and alienation, but will also be able to draw inferences about other cases from one instance and become capable of understanding and solving other ideological problems put forward in our practical life.

An important task for this party rectification is to unify thinking and further achieve a high degree of political and ideological unanimity. On the ideological front, in order to unify thinking, it is necessary to correctly and effectively eliminate spiritual pollution and take it as a component of the party rectification. Working personnel in the theoretical, propaganda, cultural, and educational departments and all those engaging in ideological and political work must conscientiously study the article "On Humanism and Alienation." This will greatly help them raise their Marxist ideological and political level, draw a clear line of demarcation between right and wrong on a series of important principled questions, and achieve a high degree of ideological and political unanimity.

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## EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE ARTICLE 'ON HUMANISM AND ALIENATION'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 84 pp 41-48

[Passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Robinson Crusoe and Man "Friday"/ Robinson Crusoe and Man "Friday" are the two main characters in the novel "The Strange Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe," written by the British writer Daniel Defoe (1660-1731). It depicts the surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe, who met with a tempest during a voyage at sea and drifted onto a desert island in the Americas, on which he spent 28 years. At first, Robinson Crusoe hid himself in a cave; later, he managed to build a hut. He saved the life of a native 17 years later, subdued him with a rifle and the "Bible," civilized him and gave him the name Man "Friday." Man "Friday" willingly addressed Robinson as "master." Not long after, Robinson Crusoe took in another two natives as his "subjects," and became the "king" on this island. In the novel, the author praised man's struggle against nature, and the adventurous spirit of the new rising bourgeoisie in their courageous way of making progress, and created a hero who blazed a trail, representative of the ideal of the bourgeoisie of that time. Engels praised Robinson Crusoe as a genuine "capitalist." Although Robinson Crusoe spent 28 years on an isolated island, this does not prove that it is possible for man to stay away from the social collective. He himself admits: "I can produce anything provided I have the instruments." And it is precisely society that provides the individual with instruments. The fact that he is able to build a boat and a house with instruments, and to make a stove to bake bread with, to produce pottery, and to keep accounts with his pen and paper, and that he is cleverer than the natives is due to the help of the education of society. Without the three natives including Man "Friday" as his slaves, he could not have become "king." His "value" and "dignity" are founded on the basis of the exploitation of Man "Friday" and the other slaves.

/The Purpose Is Man/ This is the ethical slogan put forth by Immanuel Kant. Kant was the initiator of classical German idealistic philosophy. His ethics were based on the moral principle of transcendentalism, which came into existence as an opponent of the ethics of the French materialism of the 18th century; at the same time, Kant was influenced by Rousseau and others, and there were rational factors of antifeudalism in his ethics.

Kant held that man is a rational animal and that the existence of man has an absolute value in itself; therefore, if man wants to become valuable, he should regard himself as the end, and not just as a means of employment. The belief that man has an absolute value inborn in him is obviously an idealistic view. Aiming at society that regarded man merely as a means, Kant proposed the slogan that "the purpose is man" as a protest against the irrational society of that time, which is of progressive significance.

However, we should not say that Kant held the belief that "man is the end and not the means" when he proposed the slogan that "the purpose is man." ("An Inquiry Into the Distinctness of the Fundamental Principles of Natural Theology and Morals," p 33) The "kingdom of purpose" which he proposed to establish was also aimed at "forming a mutual relation of people by linking the end with the means." (Ibid., p 48) In this meaning, man "himself is the end and at the same time, the means." ("A Discussion on Kantianism," p 61) What Kant required was not to simply regard others as a means.

/Absolute Spirit/ This is the terminology used by the German idealistic philosopher Hegel, which is also translated as "juedui guannian" [4815 1417 6034 1819]. Hegel held that the absolute spirit is the initial cause and innate quality of all things, and the actuality which existed before nature and mankind came into existence, and that everything in the world is the expression of the absolute spirit. In his view, it was impossible for material and nature to develop themselves dialectically, since only idea and thought can do so. To summarize Hegelianism in one simple sentence, it is a doctrine on the dialectical development of the "absolute spirit." He divided the self-development of absolute spirit into three stages: The first stage is logic, as an absolutely abstract concept of logic; and absolute spirit develops itself independent of time and space, nature and society, and has not yet given expression to nature and the human society; the second is the stage of nature, the absolute spirit has converted to nature, giving expression to the formation of perceptual things; and the third stage is spirit, the absolute spirit again denies nature, and gives expression to the subjective spirit (individual consciousness), objective spirit (social consciousness) and absolute spirit in succession, and finally returns to the self. Having gone through the three stages of thesis (affirmation), antithesis (negation), and synthesis (the negation of negation), it converts to material and existence from spirit and idea, and again converts to spirit and idea from material and existence, which precisely forms the whole Hegelian philosophical system, namely, logic, natural philosophy, and spiritual philosophy. The Hegelian doctrine on absolute spirit is actually a more tortuous and obscure way of saying that God creates the world.

/Basic Category/ The category is a mode of thinking expressing the essential connections of things, which possesses a concept of basic nature in various subjects of science and fields of knowledge, and is different in implication from its general daily usages. The category is formed and developed on the basis of social practice, which gives expression to the results of people's cognition, and is a means to help people understand the

world. Lenin pointed out: Categories are "some smaller stages in the course of understanding the world, they are the ties to help us understand and master the network of natural phenomena." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 90) Every subject of science has its own series of categories, and the meaning and function of every category is not balanced, nor equal, and those possessing primary significance and playing the chief roles are the basic categories. A basic category is relative to general categories, it defines and affects the latter. Regarding dialectical materialism and historical materialism, their basic categories are material, spirit, social practice, productive forces, relations of production, economic basis and superstructure.

/Speculative Philosophy/ It is a kind of idealistic philosophy in the study of problems concerning nature and human society starting from the transcendental principle. It holds that the main source of human cognition and the method to solve all theoretical problems are "pure intelligence." The characteristic of speculative philosophy is: To understand realities starting from some abstract principles and formulae which are divorced from practice, refraining from analysis of specific matter. Such a characteristic had obvious expressions in European medieval scholasticism and German idealistic philosophy. Speculative philosophers created some transcendental principles and formulae arbitrarily in their own minds, which they rigidly applied to the objective realities, making the developing and changing objective world subject to their presumptive mode, with which they view and explain the world. In the modern age, the representatives of speculative philosophy were Rene Descartes of France, and G. W. Leibniz and Hegel of Germany. The starting point of speculative philosophy is fundamentally different from that of Marxism. In criticizing the methodology of speculative philosophy, Engels pointed out: "Principles are not the starting point of study, but its final result; these principles are not applied to nature and human history, but are abstracted from them. Nature and mankind are not made to suit principles, which are correct only when they are suitable to nature and history." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 74)

/Social Contract/ This is an idealistic political doctrine. It asserts that the state and the law are both founded on the basis of contracts signed by people. It was first put forth by the ancient Greek materialist philosopher Epicurus, and it was widely spread by the European natural law school between the 17th and 18th centuries. For instance, in Rousseau's book "On Social Contract or the Principle of Political Rights." The doctrine of social contract held that mankind was originally in a "natural state," there was complete freedom of the individual, free from any restraint. Through negotiation of their own accord, people made contracts, and the state came into existence, while the individual gave up his natural freedom, life, properties and political freedom, so as to acquire protection from the state. The doctrine of social contract provided the ideological weapon that "sovereignty lies in the people" for the bourgeoisie in their struggle against feudalism, holding that the ruled classes had the right to start a revolution and overthrow the government, so as to restore the natural rights when their lives, freedom, and properties were



violated by the ruling class. This doctrine played an active role in the struggle against the medieval doctrine of monarchical rule by divine right. Engels pointed out: "The state is the product of society at a certain developing stage; and the state demonstrates that this society is bogged down in an unsolvable self-contradiction and is split up into uncompromising opposites, which it is powerless to rid of." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 166) Marxism holds that the state is a ruling machine protecting one class against another. The doctrine holds that the state is a product of social contract, which is an historical idealistic view.

/"The Outline on Feuerbach"/ These are the notes written by Marx in Brussels in the spring of 1845. In 1888, Engels had it first published as an appendix to "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of German Classical Philosophy" in a single volume.

On the basis of criticizing Feuerbach and all old schools of materialism, the "Outline" explained the role of practice in cognition, and pointed out that practice was the only criterion to test truth, criticizing the passive theory of reflection perceived directly through the senses of all old schools of materialism with the revolutionary theory of reflection, pointing out that the fundamental shortcomings of the old schools of materialism lay in their failure in understanding the role of human revolutionary activities in cognition and social lives. In addition, the "Outline" criticized the idealistic historical view of the old schools of materialism, and suggested the famous principle of historical materialism that "the intrinsic quality of man is not something abstract inborn in the individual. In its realistic nature, it is the total of all social relations." The "Outline" also put forth the basic task and historical mission of the new world outlook, pointing out: "Philosophers are only explaining the world in different ways, but the question lies in changing the world."

The "Outline" signified that Marx had already found the starting point of historical materialism, and begun to initiate historical materialism. It was highly appraised by Engels, saying it "is the first document that contains the bud of genius of a new world outlook." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 208-209) The view that some people hold that Marx' unpublished work "1844 Manuscript on Economic Philosophy" written prior to this was the first document of the new world outlook is groundless.

/"Class Struggle in France Between 1848 and 1850"/ This was written in a series by Marx between January and November 1850, specially for the "Political Economy Review" column of NEUE RHEIN-ZEITUNG." The 1848 European revolution put forth a series of new topics for the international workers' movement, therefore Marx made profound analysis and summing up of the 1848 revolution with the views of historical materialism, putting forth a series of most important principles of proletarian revolutionary strategies. The book discussed the roles of class struggle and social revolution in promoting historical development, and put forth the famous argument that "revolution is the locomotive of history" using the concept of "proletarian dictatorship" explicitly for the first time, pointing out the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship in politics, economy, and in expounding the idea

of the worker-peasant alliance. This work dealt a heavy blow at the diversified schools of socialism fashionable at that time, and played a great role in guiding the international workers' movement.

/"18 Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte"/ This was written by Marx between December 1851 and March 1852. The 18 Brumaire of the eighth year of the republic since the French bourgeois revolution, namely 9 November 1799 was the date on which Napoleon I began a coup d'etat, changing the republic into a monarchy, implementing military autocracy. On 2 December 1851, Louis Bonaparte followed his uncle's example by starting another coup d'etat, and founded his own military dictatorship; on 2 December 1852, he went on to abolish the republican system and adopt the monarchical system, giving himself the title of Napoleon III. Therefore, commenting on the incident, Marx borrowed the date 18 Brumaire as the title of his book to satirize and expose Louis Bonaparte. Engels pointed out, Marx had a thorough observation and extraordinary understanding of the incident when it first took place; this was because Marx had a profound understanding of French history, and grasped the law of historical movement.

With the views of historical materialism, Marx profoundly analyzed the historical development of France between the February revolution in 1848 and December 1851 when Louis Bonaparte started the counterrevolutionary coup d'etat, scientifically expounding the cause, essence, and outcome of Louis Bonaparte's coup d'etat. On the basis of analyzing and summing up the experiences of class struggles in this period, Marx further developed his revolutionary doctrine. He pointed out: When the peasants take part in revolution, they will regard the proletariat as their own natural alliance and leaders. Here for the first time, he had put forth the principle that it is imperative for the proletariat to smash up the state machine of the bourgeoisie. Lenin said, this "is the most fundamental thing in the theory on the state in Marxism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 194)

/"The Civil War in France"/ This was the declaration written between April and May 1871 by Marx for the General Committee of the First International on the revolution of the Paris Commune, and one of the important works of scientific communism. In 1891, when the third edition of the book in German was published to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels collected the two declarations Marx drafted for the First International on the Franco-Prussian War, and wrote an "Introduction" for it.

"The Civil War in France" appeared at a time when there was fierce antagonism and conflicts of class contradiction in the capitalist society in France. It was written by Marx under the historical condition that the workers in Paris had fought bitterly against the bourgeoisie, and had done great deeds. This work scientifically summed up the experiences and lessons of the Paris Commune, and further enriched and perfected Marxist theories on class struggle, the state, the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Based on the practice of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out in a more explicit way: The proletariat cannot simply grasp the existing bourgeois state machine, but must smash it up with

revolutionary violence, and establish a new-type state of proletarian dictatorship after the model of the Paris Commune. In this work, Marx expounded the nature of the Paris Commune, pointing out: "The true secret of the commune lies in the fact that in essence, it was a government of the working class, it was the outcome of the struggle between the producers and the possessing classes, and that it was a political form which was finally discovered which would enable labor to attain economic emancipation." Marx also pointed out: All the public servants of the commune were selected through election, and were responsible for the people and could be removed at any time; and the commune abolished all special privileges and high salaries for officials. Engels held that these two were the correct measures to "prevent the state and state organs changing from public servants into the masters of society."

/"Employed Labor and Capital"/ This is a famous work on political economics written by Marx in his early years. It was based on a few speeches made by Marx at the Brussels German Workers' Association in 1847, and was first published in the form of editorials in NEUE RHEIN-ZEITUNG in 1849. Starting with wages, this work made an analysis of the relation between capital and labor in capitalist society, revealing the capitalist's secret in exploiting the workers, and the essence of the relations of production under capitalism, and providing the proletariat with a sharp weapon in revolutionary struggle. However, in the 1840's, Marx had not yet completed his criticisms on bourgeois political economics, and the work was completed only in the late 1850's; therefore, some of the terminology in this work was not accurate. When the book was reprinted in 1891, based on the scientific expression of Marx in later years, Engels changed the original expression "labor" in the sentence "the workers sell their labor to the capitalists in order to get their wages" into "labor force." Engels pointed out that such a correction "is not just paying excessive attention to wording, but an extremely important question that involves the whole of political economics." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 341)

/"Proclamation of the Founding of the International Workers' Association"/ This proclamation was written by Marx for the International Workers' Association (namely, the First International) in October 1864. It persisted in the basic principle of the "Communist Manifesto." Based on the concrete analysis of the economic development in capitalist society and the changes in the conditions of the workers between 1848 and 1864, it laid stress on the fundamental opposition between the proletarian and bourgeois interests, holding that the seizure of political power had already become the great mission of the proletariat. It pointed out that in order to seize political power, the proletariat must establish its own independent political party, and stressed the important significance of the international unity of the proletariat. This proclamation also criticized unionism in Great Britain, the doctrine of Proudhon in France, and the opportunist views of Lassalle in Germany at that time, enabling the First International to be founded on the basis of Marxism from the very beginning, and to become the combat organization and leading core of the proletarian revolution.

/Conditions of the Usage of the Concept of "Alienation" in "Das Kapital" Vol I/ In the first volume of Marx' "Das Kapital," there are four occasions where the concept of "alienation" is used. According to the Chinese translation from the German (namely, "Complete Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 23), there are five occasions where the concept "alienation" appears. Having checked up with the German original text, there are only four occasions it should appear, in the other instance it should have been translated as "alien." In the French version of the first volume of "Das Kapital" translated from the German, which Marx had personally proofread and revised, there is only one occasion in which the concept of "alienation" is retained, the other three usages having been omitted. A comparison of the German and French versions is as follows:

1. In the chapter on "Machine and Mass Industry," the German version reads: "Therefore, the capitalist production mode makes the labor condition and the products of labor possess a form which is independent of and alienated from the workers, and develops into a complete opposition with the development of machinery." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 473)

The French version reads: "Therefore, capitalist production makes the labor conditions and the products of labor possess a quality which is independent of the workers, and develops into a complete opposition with the development of machinery." ("Das Kapital," French edition, Vol 1, Chinese translation, p 437)

2. In the chapter "Simple Reproduction," the German version reads: Even before the worker enters into the process of production, "his own labor is possessed by the capitalist along with his alienation, and is listed as part of the capital; therefore, in the process, such labor is continuously materialized as products belonging to other people." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 626)

The French version reads: "His labor has already been alienated as the property of the capitalist before the process begins, and is listed as part of the capital; therefore, it is very clear that his labor can only be realized in his products in the process which are rapidly departing from him." ("Das Kapital," French edition, Vol 1, Chinese translation, p 599)

3. In the chapter on "Simple Reproduction," the German version reads: "It can be seen that the workers themselves are continuously regarding objective wealth as capital, and as the power that is alienated from them, ruling and exploiting them in their production...." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 626)

The whole passage is deleted in the French version.

4. In the chapter "The Transformation of Surplus Value Into Capital," the German version reads: "Thus, the increasing importance that resulted from past labor as a form of means of production in active labor process is attributed to the form of alienation of such labor from the workers themselves, namely, the form of its capital, despite the fact that such labor

is the past, rewardless labor of the workers." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 668)

The French version reads: "It can be seen that these wise people do not attribute the greater and greater help to active labor provided by past labor in the form of labor material to the workers who have created the products, but to the capitalists who possess the products." ("Das Kapital," French edition, Vol 1, Chinese translation, p 642)

5. In the chapter "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation," the German version reads: "All means for developing production have become means to rule and exploit the producers, and make the workers develop abnormally, turning them into incomplete human beings, depreciating them as appendices to machines, making them suffer through labor; thereupon, they make labor lose its essence; besides, along with science as an independent force, being included in the labor process, it has caused the alienation of the workers from intelligence in the process of labor;...." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 708)

The French version reads: "All means for developing production have become means to rule and exploit the producers, and make the workers develop abnormally, turning them into incomplete human beings, or appendices of the machines, turning the power of science in production into an antagonistic force against the producers;...." ("Das Kapital," French edition, Vol 1, Chinese translation, p 688)

In the above-mentioned passages 1, 2, 4, and 5, the term "alienation" is used in the German version, the same word "entfremden" in the German original text is used in all cases, but the word "ihmfremde" is used in passage 3 in the original text, which should have been translated as "alien from himself." In the French version, the term "alienation" is retained only in passage 2.

Marx attached great importance to the French version of "Das Kapital," which he personally proofread and revised. In his letter to Zuoerge [1563 1422 2706] Marx said: In the French edition, "there are printed on the title page the words 'the whole book has been revised by the author,' which are by no means empty words, because I did spend arduous efforts on it." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 33, p 492) He told Danielson, the translator of the Russian version of "Das Kapital": "The translator should meticulously compare the second edition of the German version with the French version throughout, because there are quite a few important revisions and supplements in the latter version." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 34, p 332) Marx held that the French version "possesses scientific value independent of the original text." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 29)

It can be seen from the conditions of Marx' usage of the concept of "alienation" in "Das Kapital," Vol 1, and the several revisions in the French version that Marx did not regard "alienation" as a basic realm and basic principle, even if he used the concept of "alienation" to express

certain specific phenomena of the relations of production under capitalism, they were not indispensable, not irrevocable, nor irreplaceable.

/Fan Zhongyan/ Fan Zhongyan (989-1052) alias Fan Xiwen, a native of Wuxian, Jiangsu Province, famous politician, man of letters of the Northern Song Dynasty of our country. He had been an official all his life, and had shown comparatively deep concern for the sufferings of the people. He had for a long time been stationed on the west frontier of the country, and made great contributions to consolidating the border defense of the Northern Song Dynasty. In 1043, he was appointed deputy prime minister, and advocated reform in government, which, nevertheless, met with the opposition of the conservatives, and remained unfulfilled. In the biography devoted to him in the "History of the Song Dynasty," he was described as "possessing a strong character while having a pacific appearance," "displaying fraternity and being fond of doing good," and he was highly praised as "an official popular in a whole generation."

Fan Zhongyan was skillful at poetry and prose, his works included "Collected Works of Lord Fan Wenzheng." His writings had a style which was sharp and robust, and was rich in patriotic and political content. The saying "Worry before the world worries, enjoy only after the whole world has enjoyed" is quoted from his famous essay "The Yueyang Pavilion," in which he described the view when ascending the pavilion, while writing about his anxiety over the nation and the people, giving full expression of his patriotic thought of taking the whole country as his own responsibility, and his lofty aspiration of devoting himself to society, and the spirit of worrying before the world is worrying, and enjoying only after the whole world has enjoyed. This essay and quotation of Fan Zhongyan have all along won people's great admiration and have spread far and wide.

/Einstein/ Albert Einstein (1879-1955) born in Germany, great physicist of modern times. He founded the general and specific theories of relativity, revealing the dialectical relation between space and time, and helped people to have a deeper understanding of material movement, thus setting up a new milestone on the road of the development of science. Because of his contributions to theoretical physics, in particular, his discovery of the photoelectric law, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1921. Einstein was devoted to science, and had a strong sense of social responsibility. He said: "Man will be able to find the meaning of life which is practically transient and full of hazards only when he devotes himself to society." During World War I, he opposed the aggressive war launched by Germany, and he went to France to consult with Romain Rolland on the issue of opposing war and safeguarding peace. He enthusiastically supported the October Revolution and the Chinese revolution. When Hitler came to power in 1933, he was compelled to emigrate to the United States. The world's people showed Einstein a deep devotion; however, he always preserved his virtue of modesty, holding that the road he adopted was but an extension of that taken by his predecessors. Regarding the founding of the theory of relativity, he said: "The theory of relativity can be said to be the last finishing touch on the great sketches of Maxwell and Lawrence." In commemorating Madame Curie, he wrote: "The significance of the moral



quality of a first-rate personage to the times and historical progression is perhaps greater than the achievements in his intelligence and wisdom." He repeatedly declared: "Concerning the value of a person, we should see what he has contributed, but not what he has gained." "I have never regarded ease and happiness as the purpose of life itself," "properties, vanity, and luxuries--the vulgar aims which people pursue are always despicable to me."

/France/ Anatole France (1844-1924), famous French writer and progressive activist. His early works included "Golden Poems," a collection of poetry, and others. He became famous in 1881 when his first novel "Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard" was published, in which he depicted an old and upright scholar, who tried to save an orphaned girl, but ended by being accused of "abduction" and "theft," which was a truthful picture of each trying to cheat the other, and the reversal of good and evil in the society at that time. The novel "Thais" written in 1890 was representative of France, it is the tale of a Catholic priest of noble character and high prestige, who attempts to change by persuasion a courtesan with whom he has fallen in love. Through the story, the author expressed his doubt on traditional religion and moral concepts. Among his other famous works are: "Les Opinions de M. Jerome Coignard," "Histoire Contemporaine" (which includes four novels: "The Elm-Tree on the Mall," "The Wickerwork Woman," "The Amethyst Ring," and "Monsieur Bergeret in Paris"), "Crainquebille," "Penguin Island," "The Gods Are Athirst," "On the White Stone," and so on. In these works, France adopted the method of critical realism, truthfully revealing the darkness and corruption of French society at that time, satirizing and castigating various elements of the ruling classes such as governor, bishop, royalist, chauvinist, millionaire, and so on, while showing a deep sympathy for kindhearted people. Because of his contributions to literary creation, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1921. France's ideology and political view continuously developed with the workers' movement. Originally, he sincerely believed in humanitarianism, sympathized with socialism, enthusiastically took an active part in the worker's movement, and he had been chairman of the Franco-Russian People's Friendship Association. In 1921, when he was at the advanced age of 77, he was determined to join the French Communist Party.

/Romain Rolland/ Romain Rolland (1866-1944), French writer and social activist, engaged in literary writing in the fields of drama and biography. Early this century, he published in succession the biographies "Ludwig Beethoven," "Michelangelo," and "Leo Tolstoy." His long novel "Jean Christophe" was published between 1904 and 1912, in which the tragedy of an artist who fights against the capitalist society with his individual struggle is depicted, and has profoundly exposed all kinds of ugly phenomena of the capitalist society. During World War I, he wrote many antiwar articles from the standpoint of pacifism and humanitarianism, revealing the ferocious features of imperialism. In 1916, he won the Nobel Prize for Literature. The October Revolution affected him profoundly. In 1919, he published the "Declaration of Spiritual Independence," calling on the intellectual circles of all nations in the world to unite and resist the evil plot of imperialist war. Earlier, he began a friendship with Maxim Gorky, and enthusiastically supported the Soviet Union. In the 1930's,



he took an active part in the progressive political activities of peoples of all nations of the world, acting as chairman of the International Anti-Fascist Committee, and voiced his support for the anti-fascist struggle of the Spanish people and the liberation cause of the Chinese people. The long novel "Mother and Son" was completed between the years 1922 and 1933, in which he depicted how the bourgeois intellectuals were making progress through a tortuous path, demonstrating that his ideology had entered upon a new stage of affirming the revolutionary political struggle on a mass basis from pacifism and abstract humanism. In 1931, he published the article "A Farewell to the Past," in which he enthusiastically supported the proletarian revolution, expressing that he "will plunge into the fight along with the newborn force."

/Aragon/ Louis Aragon (1897-1982), French writer. In his early years, he studied medicine. Later, he gave up medicine for literature, and took part in the Dadaism school (a literary movement with a nihilist coloring), then he initiated another modernist school of literary movement--surrealism. Later, he came in close contact with the revolution, and joined the French Communist Party in 1927. He visited the Soviet Union on several occasions, and was a nonvoting participant of the First Congress of the All Soviet Writers. When he returned, he published a collection of poems singing in praise of the achievements in the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and actively promoted socialist realism. During World War II, he took part in the movement to fight against the enemy, and published many patriotic poems; at the same time, at the behest of the French Communist Party, he wrote "The Communist," a collection of essays on the heroic feats of the martyrs who had devoted their lives to fighting against the enemy, and the novel "Les Communistes." After World War II, he was elected to the Central Committee of the French Communist Party many times; he had long been chief editor of LES LETTRES FRANCAISE, while continuing his writing of novels, literary and art criticism, and political essays.

/Joliot-Curie/ Frederic Joliot-Curie (1900-1958), famous French physicist (son-in-law to the Curies). He made important contributions to atomic nuclear physics. In cooperation with his wife Irene Joliot-Curie in 1932, he discovered an unprecedented strong penetrating radiation while bombarding such elements as beryllium, lithium, and boron with the ray alpha produced by radioactive polonium, which was later ascertained to be neutron. In 1934, when he bombarded lead and boron with particle alpha, he had for the first time produced an artificial radioactive substance. In 1935, he and his wife were jointly awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry. For a long time, the Joliot-Curies led the French Atomic Energy Commission, and succeeded in building the first atomic reactor in France in 1948. Joliot-Curie had all along showed concern for the people who were exploited and suffered in capitalist society. When the German fascists invaded France, he took an active part in the anti-fascist struggle, and joined the French Communist Party. After the war, he took an active part in the struggle against the danger of war, and safeguarding world peace. He persisted in the peaceful use of atomic energy, requiring scientists to show their personal sense of responsibility in the social effects produced along with their inventions. He said that we should no longer use passive pacifism to express our wish for peace, appealing to all kindhearted people to rise and fight for the avoidance of war danger. Between 1950 and 1958, he was chairman of the World Peace Council.

## STATE AFFAIRS AND FAMILY MATTERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 84 inside back cover

[Article by Jin Weihua [6855 3634 5478]]

[Text] When I read over the "Selected Letters of Mao Zedong," I seemed to be following Comrade Mao Zedong's prolonged revolutionary life. Although these 372 letters reflect only one aspect of Comrade Mao Zedong's contact with comrades inside the party, nonparty friends, relatives, and old friends, they are filled with descriptions of the stormy situation of struggle, theoretical wisdom, tactical skill, and brilliant party spirit. Here, I will talk only about some of my impressions.

During the period beginning from the eighth day after the founding of the PRC, when he wrote a letter to Yang Kaizhi, to the end of 1957, Comrade Mao wrote about 30 letters in reply to his relatives and old friends. From these letters we can see that all these people wrote to Comrade Mao Zedong to request something from him. Some of them wanted to work or study in Beijing; others asked for death or relief subsidies; still others asked to be admitted into the party or their children admitted into schools, or to receive medical treatment in Beijing. Most of them wrote about family matters and private affairs. Comrade Mao Zedong adhered to principle and refrained from practicing favoritism in answering their letters. This has aroused many thoughts in my mind, particularly with the certain unhealthy trend at present, and has made me sigh with emotion.

When asked the question of which is more important, state affairs or family matters, almost all communists and cadres will say that state and party affairs are millions of times more important than family matters and private affairs. They will say: "State affairs, however small, are important, while private affairs, however great, are not important." From the viewpoint of the undertakings of our party and revolution, this understanding and reply is undoubtedly correct. Why? Precisely because ours is a revolutionary party and because we are voluntary fighters for the realization of communism. As our martyr Xiong Henghan said: "In a land flooded with spring, a man regards the state as his home." When people were fighting heroically for the birth of new China, this was regarded as a natural and indisputable principle.

Since the founding of our People's Republic, people have been more attentive to their family matters because a historical change has emerged in our situation. We can see this in the "Selected Letters of Mao Zedong." During the period from December 1920, when he wrote letters to Cai Hesen and others, to October 1949, there were very few letters dealing solely with family matters, while during the first 7 years after the founding of our People's Republic, there were dozens of these letters. This change showed that the family matters communists had to handle not only increased but also became more complicated than in the wartime. These letters of Comrade Mao Zedong's have truly recorded his firm adherence to the principle of party spirit in handling these affairs. In his letters, he was really and sincerely concerned with his relatives and friends, and he advised them in principle and gave them cordial advice or comments, and if possible, economic help too. Comrade Mao Zedong has set an example for us in properly handling the relations between state affairs and family matters.

Reading these valuable letters will also enable people to realize that conscientiously and satisfactorily handling family matters will have a direct impact on the proper handling of our state affairs. "One step in the practical movement is more important than a dozen programs." The masses of people evaluate our party and government not only through the manifesto and call of the Communist Party, but also through their direct impression on all sorts of actions of millions of our communists and cadres, and through the actions of our party members and cadres, including their correct or incorrect handling of their respective family matters. If we improperly arrange a good job for your relatives or if we exploit your power of office to pursue private gain for your relatives and old friends, the prestige of our cadres and the moral character of our party members will thus be covered with a layer of dust. When people see this dust, they will aptly ascribe it to our party and government. We should regard handling family matters as significant. If we fail to properly handle them, we will directly harm our party, country, and people. It is quite worthwhile for each party member and cadre to think about it deeply!

On 27 May 1950, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a letter to Liu Yanan, magistrate of Xiangxiang County, in which he mentioned his uncle's application for relief subsidies because of difficulties in their livelihood. In his letter, he wrote: "It can be solved only by a reduction of rent for the land and land reform in the same manner as we help ordinary peasants. You should not give him special relief for fear that it will arouse the dissatisfaction of ordinary peasants." These few words on the principle that one should not pursue personal privilege, and one must always think about the people, fully show Comrade Mao Zedong's noble quality of being a leader of the people. At present, the masses of people have been very critical of and are disgusted with the unhealthy trend of "entering by the back door." This is precisely because some party members and cadres failed to correctly handle the relations between state affairs and family matters and violated the correct principle in handling family matters. I advise these comrades to conscientiously read over these letters written by Comrade Mao Zedong.